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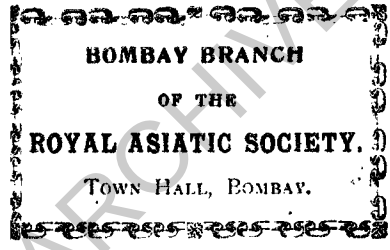

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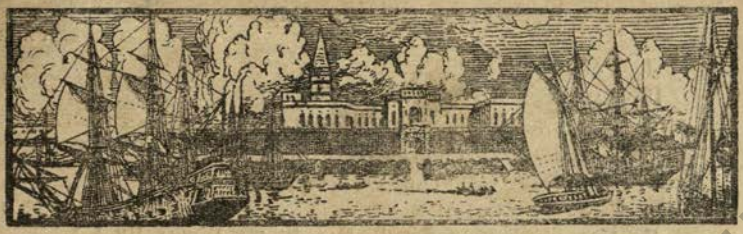

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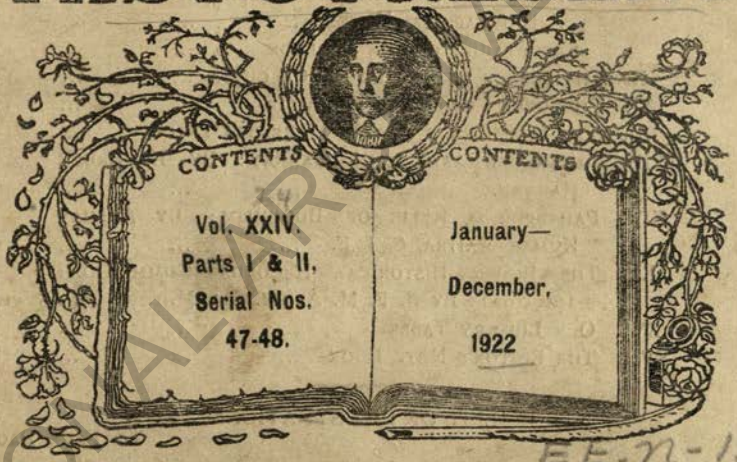

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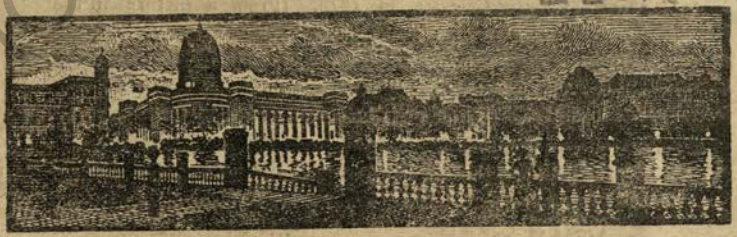

JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.

GOVERNMENT PLACE, CALCUTTA, IN 1840.
(From a Picture in the possession of Mr. C. F. Hooper)

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Foreword.

The Viceroy and the Society.

HIS Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to accept the office of Patron of the Calcutta Historical Society, and has, through Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, his Private Secretary, conveyed his congratulations upon the revival of the Society and an assurance of his interest in the work which the Society is undertaking.

Our new President.

The Society has also been favoured with the valued support of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, who has been good enough to accept the office of President. Lord Lytton's speech on the occasion of the general meeting held on December 11, 1922, will be found on a later page.

Lady Lytton.

We have yet a third announcement to make. Her Excellency the Countess of Lytton has graciously consented to become a Patron of the Society. The connexion of Lady Lytton's family with Bengal has continued for nearly a century and a half and has been of the closest character: and Her Excellency is deeply interested in the history of the city with which the Plowdens have been so long and so honourably associated.

A word of Explanation and Apology.

Under such auspices, and with the gratifying accession of new members which the Committee are able to report, the Society has every reason to look forward to a prosperous and useful future. But, owing to circumstances for which the present Commmittee are in no way responsible, the publication of *Bengal : Past & Present* has fallen into serious arrear. Volume XXIII, (July—December 1921) was not issued until the end of 1922, and members have naturally been enquring why no volumes for 1922 have made their appearance. After careful consideration, the Committee have decided to regularize the position by bringing out the present number (Vol. XXIV) as the Volume for 1922, and to follow it up by publishing during the current year Volume XXV (January—June 1923) and Volume XXVI (July—December 1923). They ask for the indulgence of members and also for their approval of a course of action which has been adopted with the utmost reluctance as the only possible solution of the difficulty.

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Ourselves.

The Editor is happy to announce that he has been fortunate enough to secure the services of the following members of the Society to act as an Editorial Committee: Dr. T. O. D. Dunn, D. Litt., Mr. A. Cassells, I. C. S., Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M. A., and Rai Promatha Nath Mullick Bahadur.

Acknowledgments.

We acknowledge with thanks the courtesy of the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in permitting reproduction of the painting in their collection which goes by the name of "A Hindustani Family," and which Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., endeavours elsewhere to identify as a representation of George Beechey and his Indian wife. Our thanks are due also to Mr. Percy Brown, A.R.C.A., the Superintendent of the Government School of Art, for the excellent photograph of the picture which he was good enough to take.

Mr. C. F. Hooper.

The resignation by Mr. C. F. Hooper of his membership of the Society on his departure for England, is an event which cannot be permitted to pass without comment. Mr. Hooper was one of the first to join the Society, the actual date being May 18, 1907, and for a considerable period he acted as Hon. Treasurer. Both in his individual capacity, and as the principal of the firm of Messrs. Thacker Spink and Co., he has rendered most valuable service to the Society: and we gratefully acknowledge our innumerable obligations to him. That he will forget the Society, we can hardly believe; but he may rest assured that the Society will not forget him.

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Calcutta Historical Society.

A MEETING was held on Monday evening, December 11, 1922, at the Rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Park Street, for the purpose of reviving the Calcutta Historical Society. The Chair was taken by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, who has accepted the office of President of the Society, and there was a large attendance.

SPEECH BY LORD LYTTON.

His Excellency, in opening the proceedings, said :—

"It is not necessary, I think, for me to say much in introducing to you the reader of this evening's paper. Mr. Cotton's personal and family associations with Bengal in the past and his present position as President of the Legislative Council are in themselves sufficient introduction. To many of you, he is already personally known. Others will know him as the author of, "Calcutta Old and New," and as one who has spent much time and labour in probing into the history of this city and in contributing to the task of discovering old Calcutta. For these reasons, we all join in welcoming him back to Calcutta. His lecture will give us fresh insight into the conditions of life in India a hundred years ago, and throw new light on well known facts and prominent figures of the period. The material which forms the basis of his paper has only recently come to light. It will provide ample work for the historian in following up its references and correlating them with what we already know. The subject which Mr. Cotton has chosen indicates what a vast field must still lie open to be explored by those who are interested in the history of this city and province. For we should hardly expect to find in the diary of an English Academician, who had no direct or known connection with India, such a wealth of information on the conditions of this country. And yet, as Mr. Cotton will show, Joseph Farington's diary teems with allusions to life in India and with comments on current events, contributed in their letters by his friends and brothers. They little knew that their impressions would ever be published, and this gives them a greater historical value. The discovery of this work suggests that there must be hundreds of other similar books, with allusions as valuable, and probably the libraries of private gentlemen in Bengal contain many books which would well repay a study from this point of view. The conditions under which our predecessors lived have had an important bearing on the growth and development of the city and on the course which history,

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economic, social and political, has taken. Documents in which these conditions are described, are, therefore, of considerable historical value. To encourage the search for such documents, to publish and collate the result of the researches of its members, is the function of such a Society as this. It is of the utmost value in maintaining as complete and accurate as possible the records of the city life. I hope the information which Mr. Cotton has been able to gather, and of which he will give us the benefit this evening, will give a fresh impetus to the activities of this Society, and that it will now enlist the active sympathy and co-operation of all those who take a pride in this "no mean city," and who are interested in its history and development. If those who are so interested would take up some special subject or period, and search for all available information about it, I feel sure that the material so collected would add greatly to our knowledge of the history of Bengal"—(*Applause*).

The Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan moved the adoption of the list of Office-bearers for the year 1923: [Printed on Page 2 of the cover.]

The Resolution was seconded by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, and carried.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. Cotton then read a paper on "Glimpses of Forgotten India as revealed in the Farington Diary."

A vote of thanks to His Excellency was moved by Mr. N. G. A. Edgley, and seconded by Mr. F. C. Scallan, and unanimously accorded.

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The Farington Diary.

SOME NEW GLIMPSES INTO FORGOTTEN INDIA.*

OF the past work of the Calcutta Historical Society it is not for me to speak. Are not its achievements chronicled in the pages of *Bengal: Past & Present*? But I could not help noticing upon paying a visit the other day to the old cemeteries in Park Street how evident were the traces of the reverent care of the Society. The inscription on the tomb of Rose Aylmer is now preserved for all time and the immortal lines of Walter Savage Landor have been added. The nameless tombs of Colonel Monson and his wife Lady Anne are at last distinguished by a proper inscription, and as to these, perhaps, I may be allowed to observe that, inasmuch as the inscriptions are placed on a recumbent slab, the greatest care is necessary in this climate to prevent their obliteration. I notice that already the inscription upon Colonel Monson's tomb is becoming difficult to decipher and I recommend this fact to the notice of the authorities concerned.

The object of my paper to-day is not, however, to dwell upon the past work of the Society. There are those, I understand, who maintain that the subject of Old Calcutta is exhausted and that consequently the Calcutta Historical Society has had its day. Your Excellency's presence this evening and the gathering which has assembled here afford sufficient evidence, I trust, of the falsity of such a belief. As a matter of fact, new treasure can be discovered almost daily by those who trouble to search for it. Let me occupy a few moments this evening by dwelling upon one conspicuous example which has lately drawn my attention.

On December 9, 1921, there was offered for sale at Puttick and Simpson's Auction Mart in Leicester Square a collection of the papers of Joseph Farington, the Royal Academician, who died in 1821, just a century ago, and who has long since been forgotten. Fourteen lines only are devoted to him in Bryan's Dictionary of Painters: yet he was for more than fifty years connected with the Royal Academy and for 35 years was in its inner circles as Auditor. He was one of the first students admitted to the Academy School, was elected an Associate in 1783 and a full Member in 1785. As a painter his fame has not endured. He specialised in landscape, and his drawings were true and charming; but he was not a brilliant

* Paper read at a general meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society, held on December 11, 1922. Printed with additions.

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artist, and his diploma picture at Burlington House is not a particularly happy effort. It was as an extremely able man of affairs that he bulked most largely in the minds of his contemporaries; and his influence and authority over his colleagues were undisputed. Witness the following from the pen of his fellow artist, Sir Martin Archer Shee, who was elected an Academician in 1800 and filled the office of President from 1830 to 1850:—

> "The principal spokesman was Mr. Farington whose name was associated with every proceeding of the Royal Academy in whose movement for good or evil he exercised so powerful a control as to procure for him the appellation of the Dictator of the Academy. He possessed a degree of weight in the deliberations of the councils of the body far beyond what any other member could hope to attain or excel."

Note also the following exclamation recorded on May 8, 1792, by a correspondent who felt bound to criticise with some severity Farington's views of "Windsor Castle" and "Westminster:"—

> "Though Mr. Farington is more valued in the Academy than any other Member and through Majesty of talent and Haughtiness of behaviour can terrify his own compatriots into *violent* obedience, we speak our opinion."

Any young artist—a Turner or a Constable—who wished to be elected an Associate, any rising painter—a Lawrence or a Hoppner or a Wilkie—who was anxious to secure full Academic honours, eagerly sought Farington's favour. He knew almost every eminent man or woman of his time; and—here is the point—he kept a diary in which he put down the scraps of conversation which he heard in after-dinner talks or at the Academy Club. That Diary which covers the period from 1793 until his death in 1821, was offered for sale at public auction (as I have already mentioned) in December, 1921 and was bought for the sum of 110 guineas by the *Morning Post* newspaper which has been publishing extracts from its pages daily since January 23, 1922. The purchase consisted of about 100 volumes of various shapes and sizes, diaries, sketch books and memorandum books, aud the wealth of matter which they contain is enormous.

THE FARINGTON FAMILY.

Strange as it may seem, Farington had close connection with India. He was the second son of the Reverend William Farington, Vicar of Leigh in Lancashire; and of his seven brothers four entered the service of the Hon'ble East India Company. Two were Master Mariners. William, the eldest, was appointed in 1786 to the command of the *Mars* Indiaman, a new ship which was lost on Margate Sands on December 8, 1787. Richard Atherton, the

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fifth brother, was gazetted Commander in December, 1786 and captained the *Lascelles* until May, 1793. In June 1796, he obtained command of the *Henry Addington*, a new Indiaman of 1200 tons, which he took to China and back. He retired from the Company's service in March 1798 and became a Justice of the Peace for Lancashire and Cheshire. Joseph Farington left his Diary and other papers to him by his will; and it was no doubt from him that they were inherited by Miss. Tyrwhitt of Northwood Lodge, Wallington, who put them on the market together with other possessions of the Farington family. Henry, the third brother, and Edward, the seventh, became pursers in the Company's service. Henry remained afloat from 1772 to 1788, when having amassed the customary fortune he settled at Manchester. Edward joined the service in 1780 and was lost at sea in 1791 in the *Foulis* (1). Finally, a second William, who was probably the son of the elder William, served in the Company's Mercantile Marine from 1796 to 1804 and attained the rank of Third Officer in the *Bombay Castle*. He appears subsequently to have joined the Royal Navy, for we find a William Farington acting as Flag Lieutenant in 1806 under Admiral Lord Gardner who was connected with the family and whose name frequently occurs in the Diary. The temptation is great to digress at this point, for the eldest son of the Admiral's elder brother was William Linnaeus Gardner (1770-1835), the famous Anglo-Indian soldier of fortune—the original, it is said, of Thackeray's Major Goliah O'Grady Gahagan—whose name is perpetuated in the Army List by Gardner's Horse and whose descendants intermarrying with princesses of the House of Delhi, claim the Gardner peerage through the marriage of Stewart William Gardner, son of Admiral Francis Farington Gardner, second son of the first Baron, with Jane Hurmozee Begum, the grand daughter of William Linnaeus Gardner.

GEORGE FARINGTON.

But we must not linger, for there is one more of the Farington brothers who claims attention. The sixth son of the Vicar of Leigh, James, died in infancy and Robert, the youngest, took holy orders and became Rector of the London riverside Parish of St. George's in the East. The fortunes we are now to follow are those of George, the fourth son, who was born at Leigh in 1754 and took, like his brother Joseph, to Art as a profession. He manifested, however, a partiality for historical subjects rather than landscapes, which was Joseph's speciality, and placed himself under Benjamin West who succeeded Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1792 as the second President of the Royal Academy and with the exception of a brief interval in 1805, held the office until 1820. In 1780, George Farington obtained the gold medal of

(1) An account of the last voyage of the *Foulis* is given in an appendix to this paper.

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the Academy for a picture representing the Caldron Scene from Macbeth, having won the silver medal in 1779. He exhibited a "Portrait of a Gentleman" at the Royal Academy in 1783; but had already left for India in the previous year, being attracted thereto, we may suppose, by the accounts received from his sailor and purser brothers. He is said to have been most industrious during the five years which he spent in India and must be adjudged to have possessed considerable talent for while in London he received many commissions from Alderman Boydell the well-known Art Publisher of the time, and along with his brother, Joseph, executed for him a number of excellent drawings of the pictures in the Houghton Collection. Carey in his "Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company" is unable (Vol. II, p. 202) to specify the places in India where he worked or the names of any of his pictures beyond stating that a large Durbar painting was in progress when he died. In the short notice of his career which is given in the Dictionary of National Biography and which is based on Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters, it is definitely asserted, however, that "when making studies for a grand picture of the Court of the Nabob of Moorshidabad, he contracted a severe illness and died at that place a few days later in 1788." The account given by Edward Edwards, A. R. A., in his Anecdotes of Painters is still more detailed and may be accepted as authentic, for we learn from an entry in the Diary of January 28, 1805, that it was revised by Joseph Farington himself. It is there stated that "while engaged on a painting representing the Durbar of the Nabob of Moorshidabad he imprudently exposed himself to the night air to make studies of the natives in some ceremonial rites, and becoming suddenly ill, he died in a few days at the age of 34; he was born in 1754." It would be interesting to know whether the present Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad is in possession of this painting.

THOMAS AND WILLIAM DANIELL.

With Indian associations of this intimate nature we may naturally expect to find ourselves rewarded when we begin to search the Diary for allusions to Anglo-Indian worthies of the time. Our search will not be in vain for the allusions are many although they are scattered and difficult to assemble. Joseph Farington was a close friend of Thomas Daniell, R. A. who, with his nephew William, also an Academician, spent ten years in India from 1784 to 1794, traversing the entire Continent from Hurdwar to Cape Comorin and from Calcutta to Bombay and leaving imperishable records of his wanderings in the six series of "Oriental Scenery." A portrait of the adventurous artists was painted by Robert Home and presented by him in 1834 to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It will be found hanging over a doorway overlooking the main stair case. There is also in the Victoria Memorial Hall

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collection a portrait of Thomas Daniell which is the work of his nephew William (2).

An early entry in the Diary brings us into contact with the Daniells :—

> "*November 3, 1793.*—We put up at Mrs. Daniell's at the Swan (Chertsey) where we were before. This evening Mrs. Daniell brought me a copy of a letter from her son in India whose tour in that country with his Uncle has been more extensive than that of any European artist's at least."

The letter, which is full of interest and exhibits much power of observation on the part of William Daniell who was then a young man of twenty, was duly copied by Farington into his Diary in pencil and covers 14 quarto pages of a leather bound volume. By the courtesy of the Editor of the *Morning Post* I was permitted to transcribe it; and it will shortly be publised with necessary annotations in *Bengal: Past & Present*. It is written from "Baghulpoor" on July 30, 1790 and describes the tour undertaken by the uncle and nephew into the country above Hurdwar, which goes nowadays by the name of Garhwal.

The fruits of this expedition are preserved in the fourth series of "Oriental Scenery" which was published in London in 1807. In this connection it may be mentioned that the India Office possesses six water colour drawings of scenes in "the Sirinagar mountains" (Srinagar being the name of the capital of the Garhwali Raja whose territory was visited). The authorship of these drawings has not been definitely established by Mr. William Foster, but they may safely be attributed to one or other of the Daniells, although these particular sketches are not be found in "Oriental Scenery." Apart from these, a water-colour by Thomas Daniell representing the Rope Bridge at Slrinagar (24 in. by 17 in.) was purchased in 1915 for the India Office and was this year transferred to the office in Grosvenor Gardens of the High Commissioner. I have observed also an "unidentified" painting by Thomas Daniell in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection, which evidently depicts a scene in these regions.

Another early entry by Farington in his Diary gives us a glimpse of Zoffany foregathering with the Daniells after their return from India :

> "*August, 29, 1798.*—(Thomas) Daniell has been to-day to Norwood with Zoffany and Wm. Daniell in search of Gypsies—found an old woman and family—gave her half-a-crown—then questioned her abt. names of things—found that 40 words were the same as the language of the natives of Bengal—26 of them precisely—in aspect,

(2) Reproductions of both these portraits will be given in the next issue of *Bengal: Past & Present.*

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complexion, language they so much resemble that Daniell is confident they came originally from East Indies."

It may be noted in passing that in 1814 William Daniell published an engraving of George Dance's portrait of Zoffany who had died in 1810. It is a half-length right profile vignette from a crayon drawing and is a soft-ground etching.

Thomas Daniell (1749-1840), the elder of the two, was the son of a Chertsey inn-keeper. In later life he related the story of his early years to his friend Farington and it stands thus recorded in the Diary :—

"*August 22, 1803.*—(Thomas) Daniell told me that he came to London when 14 years of age and was put apprentice to a coach-painter of the name of Maxwell for 7 years. After that period he was for several years employed by Catton in the same way and did not fairly commence the practice of painting pictures till he was near 30 years of age."

Charles Catton (1728-1798) who is here mentioned was coach-painter to King George III and became in 1768 one of the foundation members of of the Royal Academy where he exhibited chiefly landscapes.

I have compiled for the article I am contributing to *Bengal: Past & Present* what is, I hope, a complete collection of the entries in the Diary regarding the Daniells. Upon this occasion I will content myself with quoting two other entries. On April 19, 1804, we read :—

"Smirke (R. A.) informed that Daniell has had an order from abroad for 18 sets of his India views, which would amount to above £ 2,000."

The second entry was made on August 1, 1805 and reads as follows :—

"In the evening went to the (Academy) Council. I moved that Daniell's whole work of East India views be purchased for the Royal Academy. It was warmly seconded by Loutherburgh and much approved by all and the vote was unanimously."

Thomas Daniell was elected A. R. A. in 1796 and became a full Academician in 1799. His diploma picture at Burlington House represents "A Hindoo Temple at Bindrabund on the Ganges:" and a reproduction of it can be seen in the first series of "Oriental Scenery." From 1795 to 1828 he exhibited regularly at the Academy, and all but a very few of his pictures depicted scenes in India. He made money by his oriental drawings and publications and retired comparatively early from the practice of his profession, dying unmarried in 1840 in Earls Terrace Kensington at the patriarchal age of ninety-one.

William Daniell, the nephew (1769-1837) entered the Academy schools as a student in 1799, became an A. R. A. in 1807 and was elected to Membership in 1822, a year after the death of Farington, whom he may have

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succeeded. As many as 168 pictures were exhibited by him at the Royal Academy between 1795 and 1837, but unlike his uncle he did not confine himself to oriental subjects. His diploma picture represents "A view on the coast of Scotland," but it is a poor performance and the canvas is badly cracked. There are however two charming little oil paintings by him in the collection of pictures in the Soane Museum in Lincoln Inn Fields. Engravings of them appear in Caunter's Oriental Annual for 1834 where they are described as "A Caparisoned Elephant" and "The Hirkarrah Camel." Adjoining them are two large oil paintings by William Hodges (A. R. A. 1784, R. A. 1787, died 1797) which represent Akbar's mosque at "Futtypoor Sicri" and "a scene near Agra." William Daniell married the sister of Richard Westall R. A. and William Westall A. R. A., and died in London in 1837, three years before his uncle. His best picture, "A view of the long walk at Windsor," is in the Royal collection: and there are also two English landscapes by him at South Kensington.

DEVIS AND TILLY KETTLE.

It is remarkable how many English artists found their way to India during this period. Besides George Farington (1783-1788) and the Daniells (1784-1793) the list includes (to name only the most prominent) Zoffany (1780-1790), Ozias Humphrey (1785-1788) William Hodges (1777-1784) and A. W. Devis (1785-1795) all of whom except the last were Royal Academicians. The Diary duly records how on November 5, 1798, Devis, along with Turner, was an unsuccessful candidate for election as A. R. A.: (3) and how Zoffany voted against Turner who was, however, duly elected the next year and became R.A. in 1802. Tilly Kettle preceded them by a few years and died at Aleppo about 1785 when he was returning to the East. Kettle's portrait of Warren Hastings as a young man is justly celebrated. It was presented by Hastings to Richard Sulivan and purchased for the National Portrait Gallery in June 1859 being then catalogued as the work of Romney. The mistake is a curious one: for it so happens that the portrait of Warren Hastings which hangs in the Council-room at the India Office and was bequeathed by William Larkins to the East India Company in 1800, was actually painted by Romney in July, 1795. A fate which was very different from a niche in the National Portrait Gallery overtook another of Tilly

(3) Devis (who died on February 11, 1822) never succeeded in obtaining admission to the academy. The reason for his failure is indicated in the following entry of later date:

August 6, 1807.—Devis called and staid long.—He spoke of the vacant Associateships, and made it necessary for me to state to Him, That the reports of His having been in the King's Bench, and other irregular conduct, had prejudiced the Members of the Royal Academy against him.

Nevertheless, he exhibited 65 pictures at the Academy between 1779 and 1821.

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Kettle's works. The following entry in the Farington Diary exhibits alike a great Anglo-Indian in the capacity of Art patron and affords striking evidence of the fluctuations of an artistic reputation :—

> "April 14, 1797.—Mr. Hastings gave one thousand guineas to Kettle for a picture of a Nabob which was sold at Christie's on Monday for 7 guineas."

By a strange coincidence a portrait of Hastings himself was offered for sale at Christie's on May 20, 1921 and was bought in for six guineas. The picture in this case was catalogued as the work of Joseph Wright of Derby; but it was in point of fact a reduced picture of the full length portrait by Tilly Kettle which was presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1834 by Brigadier and Colonel Home. It bore the following inscription in pencil on the stretcher :—

> "From Palmer who was an artist and Judge of India. Original in Museum at Calcutta."

Mr. William Foster to whom I owe this information conjectures Palmer to have been Thomas Palmer who was in the Bengal Civil Service from 1790 to 1799 and died in the latter year at Ramghur in Chota Nagpore.

THE TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS.

Of the trial of the great Governor General we get several vignettes. Among the Farington papers is a ticket for the thirty-second day of the trial issued by Sir Peter Burrell, Deputy Great Chamberlain. The first entry is dated June 3, 1794 :—

> "Went into Sir Wm. Chambers Box and heard Burke speak against Hastings; this is the 3rd day of his reply. Windham read for him.—Grey in the Box part of the time, no other Managers came.—Francis sat at the end of the Manager's Box.—Mr. Hastings was writing or reading the whole time and appeared to pay no direct attention to Burke.—Markham was in the Councils Box and he was much alluded to as being the agent on the Station where the abuse was committed.—But few Commons attended and only about 23 or 4 Lords.—The galleries were well filled. Several relaxations in dress since the beginning of the trial. Grey came into the Manager's Box in Boots and Spurs. Several Peers came upon the Throne *behind the Chancellor* without Robes, Lord Albemarle in boots."

On June 14, 1794, Farington records :—

> "At Hastings' trial with Boswell. Burke was very dull and tedious. Burke was abusive witht. wit or entertainment. No Manager in the Box except Windham (Minister for War) who read extracts

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for Burke. Francis sat in one corner of the Box.—But few Lords.—Duke of Gloucester—Leeds, Marquess Townshend, etc."

The Boswell here mentioned is of course the immortal biographer of Dr. Johnson. He was Secretary for Foreign Correspondence to the Royal Academy. "Poor Boswell died this day—at his house in Titchfield Street," records Farington in his diary on May 19, 1795.

To return to Hastings. On June 16, 1794, we get the following further entry:—

"Went with G. Dance (the painter) to the conclusion of Mr. Hastings trial; Burke spoke and read about 2 hours and 10 minutes, very uninteresting and dull,—but his address of 10 minutes was beautifully composed and admirably delivered."

Two subsequent entries are to the following effect:—

"June 19, 1794. Boswell told me the other day that Mr. Hastings frequently had remarked to him on the speeches of the Managers to which he has attended to consider how far their speeches were well composed, and that he occasionally pointed out passages to show their defects in wanting point, etc.

June 20, 1794.—Cawthorne said he was going to the House to oppose the Managers of Hastings trial. He thought Burke had exceeded the authority He received from the House of Commons, and had introduced the subject of the Rohilla War though the House had refused to allow that to be charged. He said he doubted whether on some point the Lords would not contrive to find Hastings guilty. I said I concluded they would not for the sake of party commit themselves improperly. He was afraid Ld. Loughborough was not favourable to Mr. Hastings, but he would be certain of Ld. Thurlow, Kenyon, Mansfield, Stanhope, etc."

The final scene is thus described:—

"*April 23, 1795.*—A little after eleven, went to Westminster Hall... The Lords came into the Hall at ¼ before one o'clock, and Mr. Hastings acquittal was pronounced to him exactly at two o'clock.—The Lords who voted were in all 29.—There were 16 charges. The following Lords voted Mr. Hastings guilty on the first charge: [that relating to Cheyt Singh:]

The Lord Chancellor, Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Suffolk, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl of Radnor, and Earl of Carnarvon.

The following Lords voted not guilty:—

The Archbshop of York, the Duke of Bridgwater, Duke of Leeds, Marquiss Townshend, Earl of Coventry, Earl of Dorchester, Earl of Beverley, Earl of Warwick. Earl of Falmouth, Earl of

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Mansfield, Bishop of Bangor, Bishop of Rochester, Viscount Sidney, Lord Middleton, Lord Boston, Lord Thurlow, Lord Somers, Lord Walsingham, Lord Sandys, Lord Hawke, Lord Moira, (4) Lord Fife, Lord Morton.

Thus ended this long protracted trial which has lasted Seven years, two months, and Eleven days, having begun 12th February 1788.

In one of the galleries there was a slight disposition to applaud on the conclusion but it instantly subsided, and nothing cd. exceed the order, and striking appearance of the audience assembled."

Farington mentions elsewere that John Taylor, editor of the *Morning Post* when the trial began in 1788,

"Spoke of Major Scott Warieng (*sic.* Waring) to whom Mr. Hastings gave a bond for £ 5,000 for the trouble he had respecting the trial. Since that period the Major has married a Miss Hughes (Mrs. Esten, a widowed actress), who had before lived with an acquaintance of His as his mistress. A separation took place in consequence of their disagreeing and they have two children. Her temper is sd. to be bad and she contradicts Him and is supposed to have caused Him to press Mr. Hastings for the payment of the bond and some interest upon it, which was not convenient for the latter (Hastings) to do."

It is necessary to add that the information given to Farington by Taylor was not altogether correct. Hughes was the maiden name not of Mrs. Esten, but of Scott Waring's second wife Mary, whom he married almost immediately after the death of his first wife Elizabeth in 1796. The marriage was unhappy, and although the lady is said to have been addicted to drink, Hastings appears to have taken her part against her husband, on the ground that his treatment drove her to desperation. Scott's first wife brought him four children. Edward Waring Hastings, the eldest son, obtained a writership on the Bengal establishment and served from 1798 to 1821, in which year he proceeded on furlough and died in England. One of the daughters married John Reade of Ipsden House, Oxfordshire, and became the mother of Charles Reade the novelist and of Edward Anderson Reade who was a member of the Bengal Civil Service from 1826 to 1860 and, on the death of John Russell Colvin in the Fort at Agra during the mutiny, took over charge as senior Civil Officer. Scott's second wife died of an "apoplectic fit" in February 1812: and the announcement of the third marriage is thus recorded in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" for October 12, 1812:" Major Scott Waring of Peterborough House to Mrs. Esten, formely of Covent Garden Theatre—a

(4) Afterwards Governor-General from 1813 to 1823, and created Marquess of Hastings in 1816.

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union which caused much amusement to the wits of the town." (See S. C. Grier "Letters of Warren Hastings," pp. 91-93).

Hastings did give a bond for £5,000 to Scott in 1795 as part of the sum he owed to him for the expenses of the trial: and it was assigned by Scott to his first wife and her children. In 1794 Hastings had entreated Scott to raise some money with which to pay his solicitor, and this Scott did through the Summers. (Richard Sumner was one of the Civilians who accompanied Hastings to Benares in 1781 and is mentioned by him, as having, along with Alexander Elliot, Bogle, Belli and Sir John D'Oyly, suffered for their loyalty to him.) Scott, who took the name of Waring on succeeding to a cousin's estates, lost his seat in Parliament in 1793 on an accusation of bribery, but continued to help Hastings in various ways. When the trial was over, Scott sent in a bill for £10,390, and Hastings had to mortgage Daylesford in order to meet it. Nevertheless the two continued on friendly terms until Hastings" death in 1818. Scott Waring himself died in the following year. "Sydney Grier" states that it was he who originated the famous moto *Mens Aequa in arduis*, which is inscribed over the portrait of Hastings now hanging in the Bengal Council-chamber at the Town Hall.

WILLIAM BURKE.

According to Fanny Burney, the chief cause which precipitated Burke's grand attack on Hastings and brought about the impeachment was the bustling activity which led Scott to keep himself constantly before the public with speeches on behalf of Hastings in and out of season. Farington, it is true, assigns another reason for Burke's hostility:

January 22, 1796.—W. Nichols [M. P.] mentioned that the cause of Burke's implacability to Hastings was, the latter having prevented Will Burke, in conjunction with the Nabob of Arcot, from oppressing the Rajah of Tanjore, or, as Mr. Nichols expressed it, having prevented Will Burke from being in effect Rajah of Tanjore.

By this entry a glimpse is afforded of a remarkable personality. William Burke was a kinsman of Edmund, and is supposed by some to have written the letters of Junius, although the evidence strongly points to the authorship of Philip Francis. After a chequered career, he lost his seat in Parliament in 1774 and, broken in fortune, vainly endeavoured to secure a place in the service of the East India Company. In 1777 he managed to find his way to Fort St. George by carrying despatches for Lord Pigot, but upon arrival found that Governor dead. He brought with him a letter from Edmund Burke to Francis, and the latter invited him to stay with him at Calcutta. No hope of employment was, however, held out: and William Burke remained in Madras, where he succeeded in persuading the Raja of Tanjore to nominate him as his Agent. With this he returned to England: but in 1779 was once more back in India, this time as Deputy Paymaster of the

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Company's troops. In 1782 he was made Commissary General of the forces in the East Indies. Lord Cornwallis characterized the sending of him out as "an unnecessary job," and in a letter written in 1789 to Lord Rawdon (the future Marquess of Hastings and Governor-General) declared that he had done him what service he could, but that service with William Burke meant the putting of large sums of money into his own pocket. He proceeds to say that if Burke had done that, he would have deserved impeachment, and gives two examples of the "extraordinary" proposals which he had made for his own advantage and which Cornwallis had refused to sanction. Burke returned to England in 1793, and until his death in 1798 resided chiefly at Beaconsfield. Edmund Burke's letters contain references to his kinsman's shattered health.

It is satisfactorily proved (observes the writer of the article on William Burke in the *Dictionary of National Biography*) that Edmund Burke's brother Richard, and also William, gambled desperately in stocks, and were ruined by the full of East India stocks in June and July 1769. At that time Edmund Burke was one of the proprietors of the East India Company although in a letter written in 1772, he denied that he "ever had any concern in the funds of the Company." As to this Farington, when recording the funeral of Edmund Burke on July 19, 1797, remarks:—

> [Burke] purchased Beaconsfield for £ 17,000 with money gained in India Stock speculations.—Fitzherbert and Dick Burke also got money.—Will Burke stayed in too long, as did Lord Verney and were great sufferers.—Burke received money from Lord Rockingham and gave Bond for each sum, all which Lord Rockingham by will cancelled.

A GREAT MAN'S WEAKNESSES.

Of Edmund Burke in the evening of his days we get a most intimate picture. The details are furnished by Lord Inchiquin who married Mary Palmer, the niece of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and afterwards became Marquess of Thomond. Farington, who was a great friend of the family, dined there on February 12, 1797, "no company," and thus jots down His Lordship's conversation:—

> Burke, His Lordship said, is insolent, impatient of contradiction,—will hear no argument,—proud, carried away by passion on every occasion. The business of Mr. Hastings sunk to His heart. He is admired by everybody, but has no friends,—he cannot be beloved on acct. of his impracticable temper.—Since He was 30 years of age Burke has never read, but casually. He was bigotted to his Son to an astonishing degree, the Son would contradict him without reply.—On a birth day of the Son Lord

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Inchiquin said to Burke " May your Son have health, and be half what his Father is "—Burke flew into a passion and said " He is now more than his father can be."—In His House Burke is quiet if not contradicted in anything; but walks about it heedless of every concern ;—knowing nothing of Servants,—expences, &c., &c. —He is very careless of his papers,—would drop on the floor a paper though it contained treason as He would do a newspaper cover.—Mrs Burke watches over everything,—collects His scraps, arranges and dockets every paper,—My Dear Jane will Burke say, I want such a paper,—It is produced,—as conversation proceeds, He calls for others. She produces them—he asks sometimes for one which she cannot remember, Yes, Yes, Yes, my dear Jane,—no contradiction, it must be found,—she examines.

As regards his speeches, we have the testimony of Sir Francis Baring, founder of the firm and Director and Chairman of the East India Company :—

June, 25, 1806.—Sir Francis said Mr. Burke was the most entertaining speaker in the House of Commons that He had ever heard. But He was often not listened to, owing to his notion being felt to be visionary and impracticable, and his speeches too diffusive to secure attention.

THE MARRIAGE OF MRS. HASTINGS.

On June 4, 1795, there is an interesting allusion to Mrs. Hastings whose portrait by Zoffany is one of the treasures of the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection (5) :—

" Mrs. Hastings was Maid of Honor at the Court of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, married Mr. Imhoff in consequence as it is said of the effects of a former intrigue. Mr. Scheulenburgh obtained from Sir Wm. James an appointment of Cadet for Imhoff, and He and Mrs. Imhoff happened to take their passage to Madrass in the (Duke of) Grafton Indiaman, when Mr. Hastings was also a passenger (6) going out as 2nd in Council to Madrass, from whence He was removed to Bengal [and arrived in Calcutta in 1772, the Baroness having gone there in the previous year]. His attachment to Mrs. Imhoff commenced during the passage. A regular divorce [in 1773] according to the rules of a German Court between Imhoff and his wife, after which Mr. Hastings married her [on August 8,

(5) The painting, which measures 81 inches by 60, was bequeathed by Miss Winter. It was declined by the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery on account of its size. Hastings was so attached to it that it was hung in his bedroom at Calcutta in such a way that his eyes would fall on it upon awakening in the morning.

(6) The *Duke of Grafton* (499 tons, Capt. Brooke Samson in command) sailed from the Downs for " the coast and Bay " on March 26, 1769.

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1777]. It does not appear that a known criminal connexion was formed before. The divorce was under pretence of some personal ill usage, received by Mrs. Imhoff from Mr. Imhoff."

This entry attracted the attention of Miss Hilda C. Gregg (Sydney C. Grier), and both Mr. Foster and myself have had some interesting correspondence with her on the subject. In her first letter she throws doubt on the truth of the piece of scandal as to her marriage with Imhoff, of which Farington makes mention, and declares it to be improbable, in the light of Queen Charlotte's subsequent patronage. She goes on to observe that the Mecklenburgh-Strelitz connection accounts at once for the Queen's friendliness and for the absence of any mention of the marriage in the Stuttgart registers. Farington's statement with regard to "Mr. Scheulenburgh" who is obviously Fanny Burney's "Mrs. Schwellenberg" explains how Imhoff found his way to India. The marriage presumably took place at Strelitz between 1765 and 1768, but neither the Burgomaster of Neu Strelitz nor the Pastor have been able to find any eny entry in the records or in the church registers.

Sir William James is of course Commodore James who captured the Sea Fort of Severndroog on the West Coast in March 1755 from the Mahratta pirate Tulaji Angria. After his death his widow built a tower at Blackheath to commemorate the exploit which still goes by the name of Severndroog Castle. The estate was acquired this year by the London County Council and laid out as a public park: and I had the satisfaction of arranging for the preservation of the tower and for the affixing of an appropriate inscription.

BENJAMIN LACAM.

Before we pass on from Warren Hastings, we may take note of an interesting sidelight which is given into one of the minor episodes of his career. Farrington paid a visit in July 1806 to William Wilberforce at Broomfield House near Clapham Common "4 miles and a quarter from Westminster Bridge." He arrived, he says, at 20 minutes before 4, and at supper had much conversation with his host which he duly records. Among the matters discussed we find the following:—

July 19, 1806.—(Wilberforce) spoke of the admirable temper and Philanthropy of a Mr. Leckham, a person who suffered many hardships in India while Mr. Hastings was Governor there, but Leckham on seeing Hastings in England forgot all that Mr. Hastings had subjected him to and could hardly forbear from approaching to embrace him, while Mr. Hastings behaved towards him with a different sentiment knowing what He had made Him suffer. Wilberforce said 'Leckham had a buoyant mind raised above all earthly and resentful feelings.'"

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The Mr. Leckham mentioned is Samuel Lacam who seems to have lived on his wits in Calcutta as a free merchant, while Hastings was Governor-General (7). It was he who went to meet Francis on his first arrival in order to supply that worthy with information to support an attack against Hastings; and travelled with him to England in 1780 on board the *Fox* (758 tons). A curious picture of him is presented in the second volume of the "Memoris of William Hickey." That gentleman had made his acquaintance when in Calcutta, (8) and utilized his services on the occasion of his departure from Bengal in the spring of 1779. Mr. Lacam (he writes) "offered me the use of a very commodious yacht of his to convey me to the ship ["Nassau"] then laying off the Barrabulla [an anchorage below Kedgeree,] and Mr. Lacam being thoroughly acquainted with that difficult and dangerous channel, I thought it prudent to accept his offer...and went down to Mr. Lacam's house where I remained three days." Hickey had no sooner arrived in London than he encountered Lacam again in the following circumstances :—

> Upon entering the drawing-room at my father's my sister began to laugh heartily, the cause of which was a visitor who had just called to see me, whom they thus described. Notwithstanding the weather being unusually sultry and oppressive, he has completely enveloped from head to foot in shawls, appeared quite worn down by age and infirmity, dreadfully yellow complexion, more hideously ugly than any human creature they had ever beheld, and so deaf they with the utmost difficulty could make him hear a word. "Then" said I, "his name must be Lacam," which they admitted, producing his card. I certainly should have known him by the description which was nor in the least exaggerated.

Hickey goes as to relate that he went at once to Lacam's House in Cecil Street, and found him "looking wretchedly ill." They then called together on Mr. Francis at his house in Upper Harley Street, and found him there with Mrs. Francis and "two fine looking girls." Francis, we learn, particularly complained of the closeness of the rooms in London, "the oppressive heat of which he said almost suffocated him." He was evidently already revising the views of life in Calcutta which he had expressed in a letter to John Burke: "Here I live in the finest house in Bengal with a hundred servants, a country house, and spacious gardens, houses, and carriages, yet so perverse is my nature that the devil take me if I would not exchange the best dinner and the

(7) Extract from the marriage registers of St. John's Church :—25th March 1773. Mr. Benjamin Lacam, Free Merchant, and Miss Kitty Statham.

(8) Hickey tells us that he left Portsmouth on May 1, 1777, in the *Seahorse* (676 tons, Capt. David Arthur) and anchored off Saugor on November 1, following. His return passage was made as far as the Cape in the *Nassau* (723 tons) which sailed from Calcutta on May 1, 1779; and he eventually reached London by way of Holland in the summer of 1780.

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best company I ever saw in Bengal for a breakfast and claret at the Horn and let me choose my company." (9) The visit to Francis must have been paid some time in the late autumn of 1781, for the *Fox*, which left the Hooghly in December 1780, arrived in Dover Roads on October 31, 1781. It is strange to find Francis complaining of the heat at that season.

To return to Lacam. He was engaged in 1769 with J. Z. Kiernander in the building of the Presidency General Hospital and was also associated with Dr. Tysoe Saul Hancock in a scheme for the reclamation of Saugor Island and the manufacture of large quantities of *chunam* in that inhospitable spot (10). The doctor was no match for the unscrupulous financier and Hastings was obliged to come to the rescue of his friend and lent Lacam twenty-five thousand rupees to buy him out. Lacam took the money and told everybody that he had paid Hancock fifty thousand rupees for his share, but retained the contract and appears to have done very well out of it, since he mentions it in 1775 as a ground for refusing to be nominated by the Court of Directors for a lucrative post. (11) "Sydney C. Grier" has discussed the whole transaction at length in an article entitled "A Friend of Warren Hastings" which was published in *Blackwood's Magazine* for April, 1904, and in a letter to the *Morning Post* of November 14, last, she writes: "Evidently he (Lacam) could pitch a tale to recommend himself to the good philanthropist, but Hastings would probably have considered an embrace from

(9) "Mr. Francis, the Counsellor, who lives behind the Play House," was the identification given by Grand's Khidmatgar in the famous *crim. con.* case. The "finest house in Bengal" stood in Clive Street on the site of the present Royal Exchange building.

(10) See Calendar of Persian correspondence in the Imperial Record Department of the Government of India: Vol. III, 1770-72, p. 125:—

November 14, 1770.—461. *Parwānah* issued to the *gumāshtahs* of *faujdārs*, *amils* and *zamindārs* of Backergunge. Intimates that Messrs Lacam and Hancock are going to that part of the country to collect oyster and snail shells for the preparation of lime. Enjoins the addressees not to molest them in any way, so that they may carry on their business with their mind at rest. (Cap. I., 1770—72, no 52, p. 18).

(11) Eleven years earlier he was using a very different tone, as the following petition to the "gentlemen of the Council at Fort William" will testify:—

FORT WILLIAM,
The 19th November, 1764.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRS,

THE bad success my friends in England meet with in endeavouring to get me appointed in the Hon'ble Company's Service, lays me under the necessity of petitioning you again for your further notice of me to the Hon'ble Court of Directors, as without the continued favor of your recommendation all efforts are likely to prove fruitless, and having now been on the works almost three years, should I be happy enough to be supported again by your interest there would be no room to doubt of succeeding, as a strict discharge of my duty has ever been my study, I shall endeavour by that means to prove my gratitude, and remain, with the utmos respect.

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,
Your very obliged and most obedient servant,
(Sd.) BENJAMIN LACAM.

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Lacam as the climax of his misforfune." As regards this Lacam we read also in the letters of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse, which were printed in *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. II, Part II, (p. 466) that when the abortive attempt was made to oust Hastings from the Governor Generalship of Bengal, General Clavering summoned the Council in his own name as Governor-General, and before the only Member of the Council (Francis) who attended, and the Secretary (Fowke) and "one Laccam," he took the oath and usurped the Chair. The Persian Translator at the time was Sir John D'Oyly, and he on being ordered to translate the proclamation into Persian declined to do so, although he was shown the letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors on which Clavering grounded his right to the Chair.

SIR JOHN D'OYLY.

Sir John Hadley D'Oyly (1754—1818) was the sixth Baronet. He had retired from India after filling the post of Resident at Moorshedabad, and was sitting in the House of Commons as Member for Ipswich, during the trial of Hastings whose most intimate friend he was. Farington records as follows on September 16, 1794 :—

> "8 passengers from Ipswich told me Sir John D'oyley had expended in electioneering there more than £20,000,—that his interest now there not as strong as that of Mr. Cricket who carried the Bailif election and it is probable Sir John will not succeed at the next election. [He did not.] Mr. Middleton is expected to stand again. There are about 700 voters for Ipswich—Sons of Freemen —Apprentices of Freemen—becoming Freemen. Mr. Middleton and Mr. Cricket lost their popularity at Ipswich for a time by voting for the repeal of the Test Act."

The next entry is dated September 9, 1803 :—

> "This day Lady D'oyley wife of Sir John D'oyley was buried here (Cheltenham). She died on Tuesday last having come from Ireland for the benefit of the Cheltenham Waters. Sir John is now settled in Dublin and is engaged in a Brewery after various changes of fortune."

Fortune continued fickle, and a year later we find the baronet undertaking a return to India in order to shake the pagoda tree again. The entry is dated September 30, 1804 :—

> "Sir John D'oyley has sailed for India (Bengal) and taken 2 daughters with him. He still has a concern in the Brewery established in Dublin and expects that at a future period it will produce profit."

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He seems to have found influential friends at the India House, for he was reinstated in the Company's service, and became Collector of the Twenty-Four Pergunnahs, Postmaster-General (his salary increasing with the profits of the Post-office) and finally, Salt Agent of Bulwah and Chittagong.

A number of later entries in the year 1806 supply the reasons for D'Oyly's return to India. His wife (whose death we have seen recorded on September 9, 1803) was Diana Rochfort, the niece of Robert Rochfort, the first Earl of Belvedere: and when he married her in Calcutta on March 16, 1779, she was a widow of the name of Coates, (12). She was a great friend of Hastings and his wife, and (says "Sydney Grier") is never mentioned in the "Letters" except in terms of admiring affection, while her husband spoke after her death of "that playful innocence of mind which she possessed beyond almost any woman, I ever met with." The gossip recorded by Farington exhibits her character in a different sight: and the stories of her extravagant prodigality are probably true. But it is as well to mention that when Sir John returned to India, he left the care of her monument at Cheltenham as a sacred charge to Hastings, and that Hastings took infinite trouble over the composition of the epitaph and the erection of the stone. With this plea in bar, we introduce the extracts to speak for themselves.

MY LADY'S EXTRAVAGANCE.

On September 27, 1806, Farington was staying with his friends Lord and Lady Thomond at their villa on the Thames. "At tea time we had conversation respecting Sir John D'oyley," and most of the information

(12) The following extracts from the Register kept at St. John's Church relate to Lady D'Oyly's two marriages:—

January 19, 1774.—Mr. William Coates, factor in Ye Company's Service, and Miss Diana Rochfort.

March 16, 1779.—Sir John D'Oyly, Baronet, Junior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, to Mrs Diana Coates, widow.

The temptation is great to trace a connexion between the title of Lady D'Oyly's uncle and the name of the house at Alipore which is now the Calcutta head-quarters of the Viceroy: but it must be resisted. The fact no doubt is that Julius Imhoff's house at Alipore, which was acquired in 1854 by the East India Company and became the official residence of the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, was let or sold in 1803 by his executors to Charles D'Oyly the son and successor in the baronetcy of Sir John D'Oyly; but the name "Belvedere" is of much earlier date. Stavorinus, the Dutch admiral who visited Calcutta in 1770, writes on February 26 of that year: "At six o'clock in the evening Mr. Cartier came to fetch the Director and his Company to ride to his country seat Belvedere, about two Dutch miles from Calcutta." There seems to be reason to suppose that Belvedere was originally the garden house of Mr. William Frankland who was sixth of Council and Import Warehouse-keeper in 1756, and escaped in the boats on the surrender of the Fort to Seraj-ud-Dowlah "under pretence of escorting the ladies."

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was contributed by a Mrs. Partington whose husband had been at school with the baronet. We read :—

> Sir John remitted from India through the hands of Child & Co., £80,000, and afterwards received, £25,000 more : but all was wasted by a most expensive wife and hangers on of Her family. When Sir John first came to England, He told Mr. Partington He would not expend more than £2,000 a year, and indeed had Himself no inclination to expence. Mrs. Partington said He is but a weak man but has good intentions, Lord Wellesley just before His Lordship left Calcutta [in 1805] appointed him a Receiver [sc. Collector] in one of the Districts which brings Him in £4,000 a year, and He will probably remain in India during the rest of His life.

Two days later Mrs. Partington returns with greater detail to the subject of Lady D'Oyly's besetting sin :—

> At tea Mrs. Partington spoke of the great extravagance of Lady D'oyley.—In one year Her bill to *Mrs. Beauvais* the dressmaker, amounted to £700.—Mrs. Beauvais, to keep well with the waiting maid of so good a Customer, sent Her a present of a laced cloak, but the maid did not think it of *sufficient value* and returned it.—Another was sent, but that wd. not do, and a third worth towards 20 guineas was presented and graciously accepted.—Such is the way in which a good understanding is kept up between a dressmaker and the maid of an expensive Lady to induce Her to encourage that disposition.

The cause of her death was dropsy. "Her passion for dress continued to the last. Three weeks before her death she ordered *hats* to the amount of £30 when Sir John could scarcely raise 30 shilings: that inconsiderateness which had ruined His fortunes continued to the last." Warming to her subject the communicative lady continues :—

> With all their profusion of expence everything was so ill ordered that they never kept a *good table.* Mrs. Partington reminded Lady Thomond that at an entertainment *Hashed Woodcocks* were sent up.—For one entertainment a Supper and Ball, given by Sir John at His House in Portland place, He contracted with a person for the whole expence and paid £500.

The relations of the wife were as bad as the wife herself :—

> Rochford, brother to Lady D'oyley, used Sir John's House as He would have done a Tavern, and when Sir John and Lady D'oyley were out of town, would invite his acquaintance and call for Champagne, &c., without the least consideration.

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The inevitable result followed: and Mrs. Partington proceeds so tell the story of how Sir John endeavoured to restore his fortunes :—

> When Sir John had but little left of all that He brought from India, He was induced to enter into partnership in Dublin with a Mr. Spurling who married a Sister of Lady D'oyley, Gustavus Rochford, Her Cousin, and Granger, Her nephew. Their object first was to establish a great Distillery, but they overbuilt themselves at a vast expence and the Union taking place and the advantages of Distilleries in Ireland having become thereby comparatively less, they found it necessary to convert their establishment into a Brewery.—Sir John advanced £12,000 and on his leaving England to go to India, settled with His Partners, That they shd. retain His £12,000 and pay him no interest for six years, but if at that period the Concern should be prosperous, He was to be paid interest and to have a share of the profits. He was not, however, to be bound *beyond His* £12,000 for any disappointments which might happen. Since the Concern has failed; Sir John has lost his £12,000 and Mr. Spurling £70,000.

The loss of prosperity brought with it the usual accompaniment. "Mrs. Partington said that it was painful to see how much Sir John was neglected, after His circumstances declined, by most of those who had courted Him while He was in affluence. Very few indeed appeared to notice Him."

On October 1, (1806) Farington takes a walk before breakfast with Mrs. Partington, and she recommences her dissertation on Sir John D'oyly's affairs :—

> Mrs. Partington spoke of the unhappy state of Sir John D'oyley during his residence in England. . . . He had not money sufficient to fit Him and His daugrs. out and to pay His expences when He returned to India. She, Lady Thomond, and Mrs. Boscawen to save expence made use of Cloaths left by Lady D'oyley at Her death, and turned them to the best acct. they could in Cloathing and decorating the two daugrs. who soon after their arrival in India were married, one to a Son of Sir Walter Farquhar the other to a Son of Sir Francis Baring: they are both very amiable.

The husband of the elder Miss D'Oyly, whose Christian names were Maynard Eliza, was Walter Farquhar, and his father was the eminent London physician who attended Pitt in his last illness (13). He was a writer in the

(13) The marriage took place on March 6, 1805. Farquhar's elder brother, Robert Townsend (1776-1830) was private secretary to Lord Minto when Governor-General and subsequently became commercial resident at Amboyna and lieutenant-governor of Pulo Penang. He was created a baronet in 1821 and was a Director of the East India Company from 1826 to 1828. The fifth baronet of this creation, Sir John Henry Townsend Farquhar (1839-1877) was one of the Lucknow garrison in 1857.

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Company's Service and arrived in India on April 2, 1797. On November 5, 1804, he was made Collector of Revenue at Prince of Wales Island (Penang) but returned to Calcutta on April 25, 1806 as Assistant to the Secretary in the Salt Department. He became Commercial Resident at [Rampore] Bouleah on February 19, 1808, and died at St. Helena or February 10, 1813, presumably on his way to England. George Baring who married the younger daughter Harriet Rochfort on March 6, 1806, was the younger son of the East India Director and Banker.

D'Oyly does not seem to have relished his enforced resumption of life in India. Mrs. Partington tells Farington in the course of the same walk:—

> Accounts from Bengal lately recd. from His relations state that Sir John who has a strong impression of religion on His mind has become low in spirits, and they are apprehensive that it may proceed to something like religious melancholy.—He declines Society, and when He walks which He does two or three Hours every day, He seeks to be alone. He wrote to Mr. Partington that having seen His Children settled, He felt that He had nothing more to do in this world and was resigned to leave it.

However, this may be, he lived on in India for another twelve years: and died in Calcutta on January 12, 1818 of a nervous complaint caused (it is said) by the inordinate use of the *hookah*. His grave is in the South Park Street cemetery.

A FORGOTTEN SCANDAL.

"All his misfortunes and Unhappiness," Mrs. Partington declared to Farington, "proceeded from his unhappy marriage with a vain and weak woman:" and then follows some scandal:—

> The weakness of Her mind rendering Her incapable of rational conversation, He sought for it in others who might happen to be associated with them. This created in Her a violent Jealousy, not of anything criminal but of His preferring others to Herself. Mr. Johnson (14) at Calcutta was employed in the Law and His Sister

(14) Cf. "Memoirs of William Hickey" (Vol. II, 1775-1782, p. 138):—

> I was soon distinguished in Calcutta by the title of the "Gentleman Attorney" in contradicstinction to the blackguard practitioners, of which description I am sorry to say there were several. In fact, with the exception of Messrs. Tolfrey and Nailor, Foxcroft, Johnson, Jarrett (who was solicitor to the Company) and Smoult, I never met any attorneys in the company I kept which always was the best.

Elsewhere (p. 127) Hickey mentions that Mr. William Johnson and Mr. William Smoult, both Attorneys, went out in the same ship with the Judges of the Supreme Court and "under the protection of" Sir Robert Chambers. Johnson became Clerk of the Crown and one of the sworn Clerks in Equity.

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resided with Him. Having occasion to go to Moorshedabad, Lady D'oyley warmly requested that He would bring His Sister with Him. This Miss Johnson would only agree to upon condition that she and Her Brother should not stay more than a fortnight: Lady D'oyley was so much delighted with Her that she would not allow Her to return to Calcutta, and the acquaintance having become established, Miss Johnson was induced to return with them to England, where Sir John said He would be Her protector. During several years except when upon occasional visits, she continued to reside with them, and in Her Sir John finding a rational companion, directed much of His conversation to Her. This made Miss Johnson an object of Lady D'oyley's jealousy on acct. of that notice and preference, it was also the same with respect to others, and she made His life unhappy. She often bewailed the loss of Her first Husband, saying He shewed Her more attention. At different times Sir John resolved on separation, and His temper was so far worked upon that He would say very bitter things to Her.

"On the whole," concludes Mrs. Partington, "Sir John is a very good kind of man, and had He married a woman of better understanding and a different disposition, He would (have) passed through (life) happily and respectably." And so we may leave Sir John D'Oyly and turn the lantern of our attention upon another forgotten episode.

THE SUCCESSION TO LORD CORNWALLIS.

When the news reached England of the death at Ghazipore of Lord Cornwallis on October 5, 1805, the death on January 23, 1806, of William Pitt had likewise taken place. The first Lord Minto who had become President of the Board of Control on the change of Government agreed with the Directors in supporting the confirmation of Sir George Hilaro Barlow who was acting as Governor-General. The matter appeared to be settled when after an interval of ten days the Cabinet thought fit to upset the arrangement which had been arrived at and suggested the Earl of Lauderdale as a candidate. The Directors strongly objected; while Lord Grenville the Prime Minister, who was a warm admirer of Lord Wellesley, was equally opposed to the continuance in office of Sir George Barlow whose policy was to reverse the Wellesley policy in every direction. After much heated discussion all parties agreed in the nomination of Lord Minto. "I accepted...the situation"—wrote Lord Minto—"which so far from seeking I thought a week ago no human persuasion could have led me to undertake."

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There are quite a number of references in the Diary to the Lauderdale controversy. On May 27, 1806, we read :—

> "Mr. Alexander a King's Counsel, told Lysons that yesterday the cabinet council recalled Sir George Barlow from India out of spite to the Directors of the East India Company who will not appoint Lord Lauderdale Governor-General."

Two days later there is a further entry which might seem to suggest that history is repeating itself were it not that human nature remains unchanged throughout the ages :—

> "*May 29, 1806.*—Called on Dance. He talked of the luxury of the times in the midst of our difficulties and said it resembled Old Rome.—To get what each can for himself or his associates is now the great object. The appointment of Lord Lauderdale by Government a proof of it."

On June 8, 1806, Farington dines with Sir Martin Folkes, a high Tory baronet of the "Die-hard" type and he sets down the purport of the after-dinner conversation :—

> "(He condemned) the appointment of Lord Lauderdale to be Governor General of India and said that it was indecent to nominate Him. He said he could never forget that in the difficult times of this country during the French Revolution, Lord Lauderdale avowed the strongest democratic principles—that He stiled Himself Citizen Lauderdale—wanted to be made Sheriff of London,—and professed Himself to be the friend of Brisot (the Girondin)—He said Mr. Coke (of Holkham) had been to Mr. Fox on the subject and warned Him of the unpopularity that would attend presisting in such a measure—and asked Him 'whether there was not another man to be found for the situation but Lord Lauderdale. Sir Martin added that such proceedings as Mr. Fox now adopts, He would before He was Minister, have been the first to condemn."

Sir Martin Folkes and his friend Sir Jacob Astley went on to speak "with disapprobation of the levity of some of the public men,—of the Lord Chancellor and the Chancellor of the Exchequer dancing at entertainments."

Lord Lauderdale seems to have looked upon his appointment as a foregone conclusion if we may judge from the details given in an entry on June 19, 1806 :—

> "We (Farington and his friend Wilson) talked of Lord Lauderdale's appointment to India being prevented. He said His Lordship had acted with great indecency respecting it, having before the Directors had the question before them spoken confidently that He should go, and depending upon the power of Government had held

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the Directors cheap.—He went to Coll. Robinson several months ago for information of what Lord Cornwallis took with him, and on Coll. Robinson adding that Lord C. only took two persons with Him, Lord Lauderdale said that would not do for Him as He must take many of His countrymen with Him. (15)—Had Government persisted in the nomination, the Directors were determined to petition the King upon it—Elphinstone is a slave to His interest and views, and supported Lord Lauderdale's nomination: so did Sir Francis Baring who wants a Peerage,—and Sir T. Metcalf who has always been attached to the Marquiss of Wellesley.

I asked Wilson what Impression was upon his Mind respecting Marquiss Wellesley. He said that He fully was of opinion that His conduct ought to be enquired into." (16)

The absence of Lord Lauderdale from the statuary on the Maidan is perhaps not to be deplored from an artistic point of view. Farington visiting the studio of Nollekens R. A., the miser sculptor, on May 17, 1806, examined his busts: "and among others one of Lord Lauderdale," "How like a cutthroat it looks," said one of the party, who was no other than a clerk in holy orders.

A note or two regarding some of the actors in this controversy may not be without interest. Lauderdale was the eighth Earl. In his youth he was undoubtedly a Whig. He went with Dr. John Moore to France in 1792 and saw the attack on the Tuileries. On his return in 1793 he protested against the war with France and is mentioned by Farington as present with the Duke of Bedford and Fox at a meeting of "Crops" (short haired democrats) held outside the King's Arms Tavern in Palace Yard, Westminster, on November 16, 1795. Having erred with his elders in youth, he repented with his betters in old age. By 1821 he had become a Knight of the Order of the Thistle and a Tory: and died in 1837 at the age of eighty. His third daughter Eleanor was the grandmother of the Earl of Balfour. The Hon'ble William Fullerton Elphinstone, Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe (father of Lord Metcalfe) and Sir Francis Baring were East India Directors. The Peerage did not come into the Baring family until 1866. Lestock Wilson, Farington's friend, was a retired "Company's Captain." He made his first voyage as fourth officer in the *Calcutta* (499 tons) which left Portsmouth for St. Helena and China on January 11, 1771, and arrived back in the Downs on July 16, 1772. In 1789 he was appointed to the command of the *Vansittart*

(15) An early invasion of Calcutta by Scotsmen was evidently threatened.

(16) Two years earlier Mr. Wilson thought differently:—

July 1, 1804.—Wilson recommended me to read as unanswerable the acct. sent to England by Marquiss Wellesley of the cause and conduct of the late War in India with Scindia.

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(828 tons) which sailed for China on March 24 of that year, and was lost on the coast off the Island of Banca on August 23, following. He then became Captain of the *Exeter* (1,200 tons) and took her to Bombay and China in April 1793, retiring from the service in September 1794. He had been sworn in as commander on February 21, 1786, when he was put in charge of the *Carnatic* (758 tons) and sailed in her to China and back.

RIVAL SCULPTORS.

As a pendant to Wilson's reference to Lord Wellesley we may note the following :—

> "*April 29, 1806.*—Rossi called and informed me that Coll. Kidd had informed him that Bacon had got the order for the statue of Lord Wellesley, the artists voted for Rossi—others a majority for Bacon."

Here we obtain a sight of the genesis of the full sized marble statue of Lord Wellesley by John Bacon, Junior, which once stood in Government House, and now adorns the Victoria Memorial Hall.

I have not been able to identify "Coll. Kidd." He was neither Colonel Robert Kyd, the founder of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens, for he died in 1793, nor his son James Kyd, the ship-builder of Kidderpore, for he was in India between 1800 and 1814. John Charles Felix Rossi (1762—1839) executed the statue of Lord Cornwallis which stands in St. Paul's Cathedral : a piece of work which Flaxman told Farington on May 24, 1806, was "very bad," being rather "mason's work than that of a sculptor." The statues of Lord Cornwallis at Bombay and in the Victoria Memorial Hall are, however, the work of the younger Bacon. On August 2, 1798, Farington records :—

> Nollekens I met this morning.—I spoke to Him abt. the statue of Lord Cornwallis. He said Bacon would talk more than anybody else, and He would lay 100 Guineas would have the commission.

This was the elder Bacon (A. R. A. 1770, R. A. 1778) who executed the monument to Mrs. Draper (Sterne's Eliza) in Bristol Cathedral. He died in 1799: and his son (1777-1859) took up his father's commissions. On March 12, 807, we find the following entry :—

> [Flaxman] told me that he had been in competition with Bacon for a Monument to Lord Comwallis to be erected at Bombay by a subseription made at that place. The commission was sent to Lord Teignmouth [Sir John Shore, Governor-General from 1793 to 1798] who referred the Models of Flaxman and Bacon to the Marquiss of Stafford—Charles Long—Lord Dartmouth—Henry Bankes and R. Payne Knight, who have decided in

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favour of Bacon, saying it was a more magnificent design than Flaxman's (17).

THE RETURNED ANGLO-INDIAN.

Various interesting allusions occur from time to time regarding other Anglo-Indian worthies of the time. On March 28, 1797, we read:—

> "Dr. Cleghorn arrived in England on Sunday after an absence of 2 years. He has been over land to India.—He crossed the little Desart in 3 days,—abt. 90 miles in length guarded by abt. 40 Arabs-met with no interruption,—greatest Robber the best guard,—slept abt. 5 hours each night. Can see high land beyond the desart."

Those of us who have had occasion to study the topography of old Calcutta are very well aware of Colonel Mark Wood's map of 1784 published in 1792 by Mr. William Baillie. Here is a glimpse of the gallant Colonel on his re-appearance in England as a Nabob:—

> "*April 24, 1803.*—The Borough of Gatton cost Col. Mark Wood £90,000.—The voters are limited to the Parish of Gatton and there are only seven tenants in the Parish and to them only is the privilege of voting confined.—It is remarkable that the tenants have been incorruptible to Bribery, though attempted with large offers such as £500 each. The same families have for a considerable (time) continued upon the farms, from father to son.—They only hold the estates from year to year.—Col. Wood is abt. 60 years of age. He was at the head of the Engineers in India where He resided 25 years. He has been in England 10 or 11 years. He was reckoned to have brought from India £200,000."

Mark Wood had returned to England in 1793, and was elected to the House of Commons in 1794, 1796 and 1802. He was created a baronet in 1808 and retired from Parliament in 1818. His death took place in 1829 at the age of 82. It is to him that we owe a survey of Calcutta and "the country on the banks of the Hooghly River to the sea," made in 1780-85. We learn elsewhere from Farington (September 16, 1803) that Wood purchased the Piercefield estate near Chepstow, but "having bought the Borough of Gatton in Surrey," he sold it for £95,000 to a West Indian of "large fortune," named Wells—"a very gentlemanly man, but so much a man of colour as to be but little removed from a Negro."

(17) Mr. S. M Edwardes has pointed out in this connexion that Sir James Mackintosh, the famous Recorder of Bombay, originally suggested to Flaxman that he should undertake the work. Calcutta possesses a specimen of Flaxman's talent in the marble statue of the Marquess of Hastings, which stands (inappropriately enough) in the portico of the Dalhousie Institute.

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A SCHOLAR IN PARTIBUS.

Sir James Mackintosh, the famous Recorder of Bombay, was not connected with the City of Palaces, but there is more than an echo of Macaulay in Calcutta in the following entries:—

December 23, 1803.—Opie [R. A.] was at Boddingtons last night with Sir James Mackintosh, the Recorder of Bombay. He said of Mackintosh that His mind seemed to be a warehouse stocked with everything that could be collected but there did not seem to be much original power. He said His fluency in conversation was surprising.

July 27, 1805.—Dined at Mr. W. Smith's.—Boddington told me that Mackintosh as Judge of Bombay receives a salary of £6,000 a year, but has no table money. His expenses are supposed to be £3,000 a year. At the expiration of 5 years He will be entitled to a pension of £1,200 a year. He found himself very much cut off from the intercourse He loved, viz., social and literary, when He was first established at Bombay, but now does something better. Boddington said Mackintosh is a man of letters, fond of reading, etc., and probably could not confine His mind to mere professional business and without it success is doubtful.—Erskine told Boddington that *He never reads a book.* His whole time is devoted to His professional business.

"SYLHET" THACKERAY.

A year later we find another Anglo-Indian notability suddenly springing into view:—

July 16, 1806.—Barroneau's at New Lodge near Hadley, I went to . . . We dined at 5 o'Clock. Three o'Clock is their Hour when they have no Company. The company consisted of neighbours.—Mr. Monro (clergyman) is a relation of Dr. Monro (friend and patron of Turner and Girtin) and Brother to the late Mrs. *Captain* Monro.—Mr. Thackeray is about 57 years of age. He was formerly in the East Indies at Bengal: Mrs. Cartier was his friend. When General Monson,—Mr. Francis and General Clavering were sent to Bengal, as it was proposed to reform abuses, they were desirous of proving Mr. Barwell, a Member of the Council, to have been concerned in contracts, an act which His situation did not allow.—Mr. Thackeray had at that time an appointment and made a contract for *Elephants* in which it was believed Mr. Barwell had a concern. The 3 persons abovementioned forming a majority in Council, called upon Thackeray to declare who were concerned

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with Him. but Thackeray knowing how much it wd. affect Barwell refused to mention any name, but His own, and He was dismissed from His situation. General Monson soon after dying, Francis and Genl. Clavering were opposed in the Council by Mr. Warren Hastings and Barwell, and Mr. Hastings as Governor having the *casting vote*, the majority (*sic.*) formed a majority. Thackeray then applied for a place which had become vacant, but Mr. Hastings and Barwell put Him off with promises which so disgusted Him that He left India with about £20,000. He had married in India, but had no children till He settled in England after which He had Eleven.—He has now 4 sons and two daughters in India and there one of his daughters has married. (18)

This is of course the famous "Sylhet" Thackeray who seems to have been known to the Editor of the Diary in another capacity, for the following curious note is appended to the extract :—

"Barroneau and Thackeray were well-known wine merchants."

That is a phase of Thackeray's career with which some of us were certainly not previously familiar. The married daughter was Emily, wife of John Talbot Shakespear, of the Company's Service in Bengal. The wedding took place at St. John's Church, Calcutta, in 1803. She died of cholera in Calcutta on September 29, 1824, at the age of 40, and is buried in South Park Street Cemetery, where a memorial has also been erected to her husband who died on board the "Rose" on April 12, 1825, while on a voyage to the Cape. Their son was Colonel Sir Richmond Shakespear, whose memory is perpetuated by the famous passage in his cousin's *Round About Papers*. Some extracts of an extremely interesting character were published in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. VI, (pp. 133—145) from a Diary kept by Emily Shakespear in 1814, when she accompanied her husband up-country to take up the appointment of "Superintendent of Police, Western Provinces" at Hathras. The four sons in India were: William, Member of Council at Fort Saint George from 1820 to 1823, who died at sea on January 11, 1820, on board the "Nancy" on his way to the Cape: Richmond, Collector of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs, and father of the novelist, who died in Calcutta on September 13, 1815: Webb, of the Madras Civil Service, who died at Gundloor, in the Cuddapah District on September 1, 1807: and St. John, also of the Madras Civil Service, who was killed at Kittur Fort, in the Belgaum district, on October 23, 1824.

(18) Extract from the Marriage Register of St. John's Church, Calcutta.

January 31, 1776—Mr. William Makepeace Thackeray, junior merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Amelia Webb.

For a minute recorded by Hastings and Barwell on Thackeray's administration of Sylhet, see Appendix D to this paper.

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THE COST OF LIVING IN OLD CALCUTTA.

Complaints are rife about high prices in Calcutta to-day. This is apparently no new complaint as we may see from the following entry :—

> *June 21, 1806.*—Bailey, Curate of St. George's called. Has had an offer from Dr. Glasse of Chapliancy to Bengal—Salary £1,200 a year—and after 15 years if He comes home to have Pension of £250 a year—also £100 for outfit.—Went with Him to (Thomas) Daniell who told Him a *single* man might accept it and live upon it, but a married man could not. The House, Palanquin, etc., which a wife wd. require to make a suitable appearance could not be had for £100 a month." (19)

Money, however, could be saved then if it cannot be saved now, and the son of James Rennell is our authority on the point. Farington records :—

> *October 31, 1804.*—Rennel Junr. called on me, having returned from Bengal for his health. He told me that a writer on his arriving in India was allowed 300 rupees a month, about £500 a year: and that He might if required have very great credit, some to the amount of £25,000; but they pay large interest from 8 to 12 per cent. He said a prudent young (man) might in 10 years *realize* £1,500 a year.
>
> He sd. Lord Wellesley is very polite,—invites many to his table,—dines at 8 o'Clock or ½ after,—sits an hour and ½, then has Coffee, after which He retires, but leaves others to do as they please.
>
> He (Rennel) said from the time of his leaving England, about 6 years ago, He had not cost His Father Six pence. Major Rennel authorized Him to draw for £100 but He has not done it."

The connection between Rennell and the Thackerays is of course well known. On October 15, 1772, he married in Calcutta Jane Thackeray a sister of "Sylhet" Thackeray, and the great aunt therefore of the author of "Vanity Fair."

William Rennell, his son, arrived in India on October 21, 1799, and in January 1802 was appointed assistant to the Judge of Sylhet. He then

(19) Compare the following "Resolution for increasing the stipends of the Chaplains and Head Surgeons," which is extracted from the Public Consultations of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal (November 1, 1764) :—

> "Taking into consideration the great increase of expenses in Calcutta arising particularly from the extravagance of the articles of house rent, house keeping, and servants wages, and the inadequacy of the stipends of the Chaplains and Head Surgeons to defray those expenses,
>
> It is agreed to add to their allowances the sum of one hundred current rupees a month to be paid by the Buxey as charges extraordinary."

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came home and did not return to India till April 9, 1807. In 1812 he was Collector of Dacca, and in 1816 went to the Upper Provinces as Deputy Collector of Government Customs and Town Duties at Benares. He died at Futtyghur on July 25, 1819.

SHAKERS OF THE PAGODA TREE.

Farington makes various allusions from time to time which make it clear that India was looked upon in those days as a positive treasure house. On May 16, 1804, he records:—

> [Sir George Beaumont] told me that George Webb had been appointed to one of the Collectorships in Bengal which Dance has been informed is worth £10,000 a year. He is now 28 years old.

George Webb, who was no doubt a brother of Amelia Webb, the wife of "Sylhet" Thackeray, was appointed a writer on September 14, 1794, and died at Moorshedabad on November 24, 1812. He was gazetted Collector of Burdwan on March 18, 1803, and remained there until February 23, 1804, when he became Resident at the Court of Delhi.

Again, on April 20, 1807, Farington notes:

> Ben Randal, 2nd Brother to Mrs. Stodart, is at Trichinopoly, where he holds a situation that brings him £5,000 a year.

Benjamin Randal, who was nominated a writer on the Madras Establishment in 1797, was from 1804 to 1811 Deputy Commercial Resident at Nagore (Negapatam) and subsequently Commercial Resident in the Ceded Districts. He died at Cuddapah on July 10, 1819. Mrs. "Stodart," was mother of Captain Charles Stoddart (b. 1806) who was murdered with Arthur Conolly at Bokhara in 1842.

Here are other entries of the same type:—

> *June 4, 1806.*—Colonel and Mrs. Welsh (Sister to Lady Mulgrave) came in the evening. Colonel Welsh made a fortune in the East Indies.
>
> *October 28, 1806.*—Sir, William Paxton, now Member for Carmarthenshire, made a fortune in the East Indies. (Bengal) (20) He is brother of the late Mr. Paxton, portrait-painter, who died in India [at Bombay in 1780].

(20) We find the name of W. Paxton among the signatories to a petition addressed by Calcutta merchants to Warren Hastings and the members of his Council on September 22, 1778, calling attention to the grave risk of capture run by "the country vessels which are gone to China and trading on the Mallay Coast," and asking that "a sloop of force such as the *Resolution* or *Royal Charlotte*" may be sent into the Straits of Malacca for their protection. An estimate is annexed of the value of the vessels and of their cargoes, "in which almost every dividual in the three Presidencies is interested either as Owner, Respondentia, Sender or Insurer."

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December 29, 1807.—(Lestock) Wilson's dined at. Philip Dundass, late Governor of Prince of Wales's Island, died at Sea...His uncle, Lord Melville, had caused Him to be appointed Master attendant at Bombay, where He had £10,000 a year and accumulated 70 or £80,000, with which He returned to England and married a daughter of Sir John Wedderburn, by whom He had 2 children. —He accepted the office of Governor of Prince of Wales's Island, telling Wilson that at His age, about 43 or 44, He was too young to become idle.

It is interesting to compare these entries with the account given by "S. C. Grier" in her edition of "The Letters of Warren Hastings to His Wife" (p. 428) of life in Calcutta at about this same period:—

The lavish profusion of old days was no more. There were only two great prizes in the Service—the Collectorships of Patna and Benares. No other post brought in more than 19,000 rupees a year, which merely enabled a man to live moderately and pay off his debts by degrees, The only people to make fortunes; says Sir John D'Oyly, are "Taylors and Shopkeepers, who return home to obtain the hands of the Lady Seraphinas and Louisas." To the "old Bengallers" who came out again, the glory of Calcutta seemed to have departed. If we may believe Sir John D'Oyly, it was now the custom for a family to give one or two great dinners in a month, and dine out on all the other days. Trying to revert to old customs, he confesses that he found it more expensive to "keep a constant family table, where a select number of friends have Admission at Pleasure," than to give occasional large entertainments. General Palmer also points out [in a letter to Hastings] the change that has taken place. "Dinner is about 8 o'clock in the evening. A less formal meal and without Guests is taken in most Families between 2 and 3 o'clock. Repasts are in general more frugal than formerly, and considerably greater Economy is practised in the Articles of Servants and Equipage. Few who keep wheel Carriages use Palkees. In the army a still greater degree of Parsimony prevails, especially among the inferior Officers, most of whom have no other carriage than a poney, walk or ride out in the hottest Sun without a Chattah, [umbrella] and in the dark without a Mussal or Lantern. I know several young men who save 70 or 80 rupees monthly out of 150. Almost all of these two are highly independent in spirit, paying little or no attention to the Superiors except on Duty. They are consequently but little met with in Society. I think this conduct very

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commendable and the result of manly Sentiment and Integrity. Upon the whole I think the alteration in Manners and Customs is an Improvement. I wish this slight sketch of a Society, of which you was the Head under different modes of Life, may afford you a moment's Amusement."

ARTISTS AND THEIR RELATIVES IN INDIA.

Quite a number of Farington's artist friends had relatives in India at one time or another. On June 19, 1807, he called on Mr. Saunders, the Collector of the Income-Tax, who was a native of Great Torrington in Devonshire where the sisters of Sir Joshua Reynolds lived and the following piece of information is jotted down as a result :—

Mr. Johnson, who married another Sister of Sir Joshua Reynolds, was a Woolen Draper at Great Torrington. His conduct in many respects was very improper and ultimately caused Mrs. Johnson to live separate from Him. Sir Joshua Reynolds obtained an appointment in India for Mr. Johnson's Eldest Son, and Richard, the Second Son, also went to Bengal. The Eldest died many years ago.

Richard Johnson plays a conspicuous part in the Hastings correspondence. He was sent as Nathaniel Middleton's assistant to Lucknow and when Middleton left the Residency temporarily to take his wife down to Bengal, he remained in charge, and, says Hastings, "abused his trust or was charged with it, and was recalled." He then went to Hyderabad as Resident, and had to resign as the result of charges brought against him by the minister of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh. In 1789 he returned to England and became a partner in the firm of Edwards, Smith, Templer, Middleton, Johnson, and Wedgwood, who acted as bankers for Hastings and his wife. His name disappears from the firm in 1807, and he had fallen into such pecuniary difficulties that he was arranging to return to India, when he died at Brighton, "S. C. Grier" adds that in 1816 Mr. Templer, the head of the firm, writes to Hastings to say that, in consequence of Mr. Johnson's conduct, he is obliged to wind up his affairs, and after thirty one years in England, to return to India at the age of sixty one.

Here is another instance :—

October 10, 1806.—Jeffrey Wyatt [the architect, after wards Sir Jeffrey Wyatville] called to mention his being upon the list of candidates to be an Associate...He talked a good deal about his uncle James Wyatt, now President of the Royal Academy...James Wyatt's sons have been very improvident.—The eldest had He remained in Calcutta, would have been appointed by Marquiss Wellesly,

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> Secretary to the Governor-General, a place of £10,000 a year. He complained of ill health, but it is said to be only a Home fever—a desire to go Home.

The victim of this attack of nostalgia was Benjamin Dean Wyatt (1775-1850). He studied for a time under his father, but became in 1802 Private Secretary to Sir Arthur Wellesley whom he accompanied to Ireland and India. After the "gran rifiuto" of which Farington makes mention, he returned to England and resumed the profession of architect, and with his brother Philip altered Apsley House for the use of his old chief, now Duke of Wellington. On his father's death in 1813 he succeeded him as Surveyor to Westminister Abbey. The Duke of York's column at the foot of Waterloo place was erected by him in 1830-33 at a cost of £25,000.

Hoppner, the portrait painter who was an intimate friend of Farington, and frequently figures in the Diary, seems also have had a son in Bengal. The surname is unusual: and the probabilities are that Catherine Hampden Hoppner, who arrived in India as a writer in December 1, 1804, stood in that relationship to him. He served at Bhaugulpore and Backergunge, and was Judge and Magistrate of the Jungle Mehals in 1815, and Judge and Magistrate of the 24-Pergunnahs in 1818. He proceeded to Europe in January 1821, and was "out of the Service" in 1828.

William Hodges certainly sent a son to Madras: as witness this entry made by Farington on February 13, 1807

> Henry Hodges [son of William Hodges, R. A.] called previous to His Sailing for India as a Cadet. He is to Sail in the Cumberland, Capt. Farrer, and to Mess with the Mates for which he is to pay £60. His destination is Madras.—I recommended to Him to acquire the Persian language, and to obtain all the Scientific knowledge in His profession that [He] may be able to do in order to render Himself a valuable Officer and fit to be employed where others could not be—from want of necessary knowledge.

The *Cumberland* (1200 tons.) sailed from Portsmouth on February 26, 1807. Official records show that Henry William Hodges, the recipient of this excellent advice, was gazetted cadet on the military establishment at Fort Saint George in 1806. He became an ensign on July 3, 1807, Lieutenant on April 8, 1820, Captain on December 25, 1822, Major on June 5, 1830, and Lieut., Colonel on April 1, 1835. In Dodwell and Miles' Indian Army list, (1760-1834) he is returned as "still alive in 1838."

Regarding the tragedy of William Hodges' later years, Farington has much to say: but this paper has already run to an excessive length, and further consideration of the new light which is thrown upon that matter must be postponed to another occasion. There are also allusions to Henry Satt. the eccentric artist who accompanied Lord Valentia in his travels in

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India and the East in 1802-1806, and who was a pupil of Farington: but these must likewise stand and wait.

CONCLUSION.

No attempt has done made in putting together these scattered entries to give any sort of connected picture. But it is hoped that enough has been said to make clear what a quarry of new matter has been laid bare in the Farington Diary and how deep is the debt of gratitude due to the great London newspaper which has placed it at the disposal of students. The introduction of the name of Barwell in the version given by "Sylhet" Thackeray of his Elephant contract supplies in itself an attractive subject for closer examination. Nor should the ill success of "Sydney Grier" on the subject of the marriage of Mr. and Mrs. Imhoff be regarded as disposing altogether of the solution of that mystery which would appear to be indicated. In these and in other directions, there is ample scope for the industry of members both old and new, and room will always gladly be found in *Bengal: Past & Present* for the fruits of their labours. We have, for example, by no means completed our stock of information regarding the Bengalee families which have been so closely associated with British rule in India—the Setts, the Bysacks, the Mullicks,—whose ancestor Rajaram of Tribeni advised Charnock to transfer the Company's factory from Hooghly to Sutanuti—the Seals, the Mitters of Kumartuli, "Cantoo Bobboo," the banian of Hastings whose descendant we honour in the Maharaja of Kasimbazar, the great Sovabazar house which took its origin from Maharaja Nubkissen, the equally distinguished Tagore family, whose ancestor Durponarayan was banian of Wheler, the successor of Monson in Council—to name only a few—and in some cases we have not even begun to ransack the record-room. An important departure in this direction has lately been undertaken by my old friend, Rai Promatha Nath Mullick Bahadur, and his example deserves to be widely followed. Similarly, there must still be many documents at Murshidabad and Dacca and other centres of Muhammadan authority in Bengal, which will richly repay investigation from our particular point of view. And as to Edward Wheler, the "Ned Silent" of Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*, may I not mention that his first wife, who died in Calcutta seven months after her landing in December 1777, was Harriet Chichele Plowden? She astounded all the Calcutta Ladies, Francis tells us, by the size of her hoop at the ball given in her honour on her arrival.

The charm of Old Calcutta is undeniable and no one who has embarked upon research in that quarter is ever able to shake off the fascination. As I began, so I end with the definite assertion that the work of the Calcutta Historical Society is far from having reached its conclusion. There is plenty to be done if only those who feel an inclination will arise to do it.

H. E. A. COTTON.

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Appendix.

A.—THE LOSS OF THE "FOULIS."

In the foregoing paper on the Farington Diary, mention is made of the fact that Edward Farington, the diarist's brother, was a Purser in the East India Company's Marine Service, and was lost at sea in the *Foulis* East Indiaman in 1791. The *Foulis* of 763 tons, Captain George Blachford, sailed from the Downs on June 4, 1790, for Madras, Bengal, and Bencoolen. She made the outward voyage without mishap; for the "*Calcutta Gazette*," of Thursday, October 28, 1790 contains the following announcement, (Vol. XIV., No. 348):—

> Mr. Farrington, Purser of the Honourable Company's ship *Foulis*, Captain George Blachford, arrived in town on Saturday night, with the pleasing intelligence of the safe arrival of that ship in Balasore roads. The *Foulis* sailed from the Downs on the 4th of June. She touched at St. Jago on the 2nd of July and sailed from thence on the 8th of the same month, and arrived in Balasore roads on the 20th last.

The *Foulis* duly made her way up to Calcutta. She evidently brought a consignment of young writers and cadets. But they were bound, not for Bengal, but for Madras: and the Public Consultations of November 3, 1790, contain a transcript of the following representation addressed to Mr. Edward Hay, Secretary to Government at Fort William:—

> Sir,—Understanding that the Governor-General in Council has occasionally consented to make an advance of cash on account of their pay to the Hon'ble Company's servants belonging to the other Presidencies when residing in Bengal, we request the favour of your laying before His Lordship [Lord Cornwallis] the following circumstances which we flatter ourselves will entitle us in his opinion to the same indulgence.
>
> We embarked from England on board the Hon'ble Company's ship *Foulis*, Captain Blachford, bound to Coast and Bay, and had every reason to expect that we should have been landed from her at Fort Saint George which was the first Port of her Destination: But the Commander having on account of the advanced season of the monsoon, thought it most for the good of his Employers to make a direct voyage to this Port, we find ourselves landed in Calcutta at a distance from our Friends and the place of our appointed service: and tho' His Lordship may rest assured that we shall take the

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earliest opportunity of conveying ourselves to Madras, still we must be put to heavy expence in supporting ourselves here until such opportunities offer and in availing ourselves of those opportunities when they shall offer.

We are, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servants,

DANIEL CRAWFORD ALEXR. STODART GEO. BALMAIN FRAS. A. SAVAGE	*Writers.*
JNO. HASSEY CHAS. COOPER	*Cadets.*
WM. LEMESURIER W. C. LETTSOM WYNNE PEYTON H. BOND	*Assistant Surgeons*

The Hon'ble Company's Servants above signed having considered the several unavoidable expenses they have been put to independent of their living, by being brought to Calcutta, the charge they must defray for conveying themselves to the place of their appointed service, do hope that His Lordship will allow to each an advance of 300 rupees.

Of the four writers whose signatures are appended, Daniel Crawford, Judge and Magistrate of Guntoor, was lost at sea in 1809 in the *Lady Jane Dundas* (820 tons). That ship, with the *Jane Duchess of Gordon* and the *Calcutta* "parted Company from the Fleet, March 14, 1809 at the Mauritius, and not since heard of." Alexander Stodart became Deputy Commercial Resident at Ganjam and died at Madras on May 16, 1807: and George Balmain who was Collector of Peddapore in Masulipatam, died at the Presidency also a few months earlier, on January 16. Francis Savage's service under the Company lasted for forty years. He was Commercial Resident at the General Factory at Ingeram from 1820 to 1830, and died as Madras on June 23, 1831.

The reply to the petition has not been preserved in the Records of the Government of India: but the career of the *Foulis* can be traced. On January 15, 1791, the following letter was addressed from Fort William to Fort Saint George (Public Consultation, January 17, 1791, No 6):—

Hon'ble Sir.—The *Foulis* Captain Blachford with Troops and Treasure from your Presidency is now dispatched to you on her way to Fort Marlboro'.

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We request that the consignments from this Presidency being landed and any Articles that you may wish to send to Fort Marlboro ' on the *Foulis* laden, Captain Blachford may be directed to proceed to that Residency with as little delay as Possible.

A copy of his Sailing orders is enclosed.

On January 21, 1791, the following report from on board "Ship *Foulis* Broken Ground" is made by Mr. G. French, "A. Dy. Ma: Attendt." to "Cudbert Thornhill, Esq., Master Attendant." (Public Cons. 4, February 1791, No. D.)

Sir,—Agreeably to your orders, under date the 15th instant, to attend the dispatch of the Hon'ble Company's Ship *Foulis*, I have repaired on board of her, at the Broken Ground and made the Several Enquiries directed in your Instruction, and I have the Pleasure to make you the following Report :—

The Ships Company and all the Passengers on board have been separately mustered before me, and correspond with the accompanying list of each.

The quantity of Warlike Stores on board is agreeable to the Charter party Requisition that is to say :—

26 Guns.

35 Barrells Powder.

30 Rounds of Shott with amunition and are in proportion.

The Ship Draws 20 feet 6 inches water on her even keel, and I consider her in a fit Condition for Sea.

The list referred to in the Report has unhappily not been preserved: but the names of the officers as given in Hardy's Register of East India Shipping (1760—1819) are as follows: 1st Officer, Samuel Warrington; 2nd Joseph Montagu; 3rd Richard Forrest; 4th Warren Lisle Bell; Surgeon Thomas Howden. The Purser is stated to have been to have been Joseph Kent, but we know from the *Calcutta Gazette* that he was Edward Farington.

The *Foulis* duly reached Fort Saint George: and proceeded thence on her voyage to Fort Marlborough. But she was never again heard of. On June 25, 1791, the following letter from Fort Saint George, signed by Sir Chas. Oakeley, (the Governor) Wm. Petrie, and J. Hudleston, was written to. "The Hon'ble Charles Stuart and the Gentlemen of the Council at Fort William." (Pub. O. C. No. 1, dated the 20th July, 1791).

Gentlemen.—Conformably to your desire we dispatched the Ship *Foulis* for Fort Marlbro' on 8th March, to receive a Cargoe of Pepper for Europe; but, understanding she was not arrived there, and that no account had been received of her at so late a period as the 15th

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May; we have the honour to transmit you Copy of a Letter addressed to us by the Deputy Governor and Council, and we shall wait your opinion with respect to their request, for dispatching to them one of the Ships of this Season. In the event of our receiving any information with regard to the *Foulis*, we shall communicate it to you, by the earliest opportunity.

So ends the story. The tale of the "*Foulis*" remains shrouded in mystery: and it can only be supposed that she foundered with all hands in the Bay.

B.—THE CONNECTION OF THE FARINGTON FAMILY WITH THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

SUBJOINED is a list in detail of the voyages made by the four brothers of Joseph Farington, R. A., in the Marine Service of the Hon'ble East India Company. It is extracted from Charles Hardy's Register of Ships employed in the Service of the United East India Company; 1760 to 1819 (3rd edition London, 1820).

I. William Farington Senior:—

1. 4th. Officer.—*Duke of Gloucester*, (3rd voyage,) 499 Tons. Coast and China, Capt. John Lauder (Geo. Willson, Esqr.) Sailed from Plymouth, 1 February 1770: arrived Downs, 9, July 1771.
2. 2nd. Officer.—*Alfred*, (3 voyage,) 499 Tons. Coast and Bombay, Capt. John Lauder (Geo. Willson, Esqr.,) Sailed from Downs, 29 January 1773: arrived Downs, 4 February 1775.
3. 1st. Officer.—*General Coote*, (1 voyage,) 755 Tons. Coast and Bay, Capt. Daniel Griffith Hoare, (Robt. Williams, Esqr.,) Sailed from Downs, 11 September 1782: arrived Downs, 13, July 1784.
4. Captain:— *Mars*. 660 Tons. (1 voyage) China, (Richd. Bush, Esqr.), Sailed Downs, 20 April 1786. Lost on Margate Sands, 8 December 1787.

Retired from the Service.

Died at Hoddesdon, July 31, 1803, aged 57.

II. Henry Farington.—

1. Purser.—*Lord Mansfield*, (1 voyage,) 499 Tons. Coast and Bay, Capt. William Fraser. (Alexander Hume, Esqr.,) Sailed from Portsmouth, December 24, 1772. Lost in "Bengal River" September 1773.
2. Purser.—*Gatton*, (2 voyage,) 758 Tons, Bombay Capt. William Money, (George Willson, Esqr.,) Sailed from Portsmouth, 20 April, 1775: arrived Downs. 13 October 1777.

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3. Purser.—*Earl of Mansfield*, (1 voyage) 758 Tons. St. Helena and China. Captain William Fraser. (Alex. Hume, Esqr.,) Sailed from Portsmouth, 25 December 1777 : arrived Downs, November 16, 1779.
4. Purser.—*Southampton*, (2 voyage) 758 Tons. Coast and China. Captain Henry Lennox. (Chas. Foulis, Esqr.) Sailed from Portsmouth, 13 March 1781 : arrived Downs, 10, June 1785.
5. Purser.—*Melville Castle*, (1 voyage) 806 Tons. Bombay and China, Captain Philip Dundas (David Webster, Esqr.) Sailed from Downs, 6 January 1787 . arrived Downs, 24, June 1788.

Retired from the Service.

Died at Manchester, May 30, 1827, aged 77.

III. Richard Atherton Farington :—

1. 3rd Officer.—*Queen*, (4 voyage,) 804 Tons. St. Helena and Bencoolen. Captain Peter Douglas, (Geo. Stainforth, Esqr.) Sailed Plymouth, 9 March 1778 ; arrived Downs, 13, January 1780.
2. 3rd Officer.—*Lascelles*, (1 voyage,) 758 Tons. Coast and China, Captain Thomas Wakefield (Alex. Hamilton, Esqr.) Sailed Portsmouth, 12 February 1780 : arrived Downs, 20, October, 1781.
3. 1st Officer.—*Lascelles* (2 voyage) 758 Tons. Coast and China. Same Captain and owner. Sailed Portsmouth 11 March 1783 : arrived Downs 17 July 1784.
4. 1st Officer.—*Lascelles*. (3 voyage,) 758 Tons. China : same Captain and owner. Sailed from Downs, 1 March 1785 : arrived Downs, 28, April 1786.

Sworn in as Commander, December 6, 1786.

5. Captain :—*Lascelles*, (4 voyage) Coast and China. (Owner Sir Alex. Hamilton.) Sailed Downs, 17 January 1787 : arrived Downs, 21 May 1788.
6. Captain.—*Lascelles*, (5 voyage,) China. Sailed Plymouth 4 April, 1789 : Moorings, 1, May 1790.
7. Captain.—*Lascelles*. (6 voyage,) China. Sailed Downs, 6 April 1792 : Moorings, 6, May 1793.
8. Captain.—*Henry Addington*, (1 voyage,) 1,200 Tons. China. (Sir Alex. Hamilton.) Sailed Portsmouth, 27 June 1796 : Moorings, 21, March 1798.

Retired from the Service. (1)

Died December 25, 1822, aged 67.

(1) The Henry *Addington* sailed from Downs on 2 voyage on December 4, 1798, Captain Thos. Wakefield in command, and was lost on Bembridge Ledge, (Isle of Wight) on December 8, 1798. A new ship of same name, 1,200 Tons, sailed from Portsmouth on 1 voyage for Bombay and China, with Captain Thomas. Wakefield again in command, January 9, 1801 (Moorings, June 14, 1802).

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IV. Edward Farington.—

1. Purser.—*Earl of Mansfield*, (2 voyage), 758 Tons. China, Capt. William Fraser. (Alex. Hume, Esqr.) Sailed Portsmouth, 3 June 1780 : arrived Downs, 31 March 1781.
2. Purser.—*True Briton.* (4 voyage) 758 Tons. Coast and China. Capt. Henry Farrer. (Henry Broadley, Esqr.) Sailed Portsmouth, 11 March 1783 : arrived Downs, 27 Oct. 1785.
3. Purser :— *Manship*, (1 voyage) 755 Tons. Coast and Bay. Capt. Charles Gregorie. (Jeffery Jackson, Esqr.) Sailed Downs 30 Dec. 1785 : arrived Downs, 27 April, 1787.
4. Purser :—*Manship*, (2 voyage) Coast and Bay. Same captain and owner. Sailed Downs, 4 April 1788, Moorings, 25 June, 1789.
5. Purser.—*Foulis*, (3 voyage), 763 Tons. Madras, Bengal and Bencoolen. Capt. Geo. Blachford (Robert Preston, Esqr.) Sailed Downs : 3 June 1790. Arrived Balasore Roads, 23 Oct. 1790. (*Calcutta Gazette*, Oct. 28, 1790.) Left Madras for Fort Marlborough, 8 March 1791. Not since heard of (2).

V. William Farington, Junior :—

1. 4th Officer.—Henry Addington, (1 voyage), 1,200 Tons. China. Captain Rich. Ath. Farington. (Sir Alex. Hamilton) Sailed Portsmouth, 27 June 1796 : Moorings, 21 March 1798 (3).
2. 3rd Officer.—Bombay Castle, (5 voyage), 1200 Tons. Bombay and China. Captain Archibald Hamilton (Joseph Dorin, Esqr.) Sailed Downs, 23 December 1802 : Moorings, 14 August 1804.
3. Joined the Royal Navy and was flag-lieutenant to Admiral Lord Gardner, 1806. (4)

(2) The Purser's name on this last voyage of the *Foulis* is given as Joseph Kent in Hardy's Register, p. 141 : but this is contradicted by the announcement in the *Calcutta Gazette* : (see Appendix A).

(3) Mr. C. E. Hughes, writing to the *Morning Post* on June 20, 1922, mentions the discovery by him in a sale-room of a portfolio inscribed "Plans of the substitute Rudder made on board the Henry Addington, E. I. M., Richard Atherton Farington, Captain, drawn by William Farington, 4th Officer, after the loss of her Rudder in a Typhoon in the China Seas in the year 1797 and by him sent to the Court of Directors of the East India Company who presented him with 20 Guineas to purchase a Sextant—as see the letter from the Secretary."

(4) Extract from Farington Diary :

"June 28, 1807.—(Admiral) Lord Gardner told me again that he had spoken to Lord Mulgrave (First Lord of the Admiralty) to make William a Commander and that His Lordship had put his name down, but at present was afraid to open the door to promotion.—But, said His Lordship, when he is made a Captain, he will not be able to get a ship, so many are the difficulties. I replied that we are thankful for all that through His Lordship's kindness had been done for him, and should patiently wait for what might in time be obtained."

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To the foregoing was to be added two names which in all probability are those of relatives.

VI. J. Farington Butterfield :—

1. Purser.—*Houghton*, 758 Tons, (1 voyage), Coast and China. Capt. James Monro. (Cullen Smith) Sailed from Portsmouth, 11 November 1783 : arrived Downs 27 June 1784.
2. Purser.—*Houghton*, (2 voyage), Coast and China. (Same Captain and owner.) Sailed from Down 15 Dec. 1784: arrived Down 13 May 1786.

No further record.

VII. Gill Farington Slater.—

1. 4th Officer.—*Lord Nelson*, (4 voyage), 819 Tons. St. Helona and Bengal Capt. Wm. Chas. Hutton. (Henry Bonham, Esqr.) Sailed Portsmouth, 30 Mar. 1806 : Moorings 9 Sept. 1807.
2. 1st Officer.—*Calcutta*, (5 voyage), 819 Tons. Madras and Bombay Capt. Wm. Maxwell, (Henry Bonham, Esqr.) Sailed Portsmouth, 5 March 1808. Parted Company from the Fleet, 14 March 1809, off the Mauritius and not since heard of.

C.—LADY D'OYLY'S FIRST HUSBAND.

According to Sir Henry Cotton's Revenue History of Chittagong (p. 23) William Cotes (sic) 'was Commercial Resident at Chittagong, and acting Chief in February 1775. He was "a pompous and punctilious functionary and a very involved writer of English" (*op.cit.*) His surname is given as "Coates" in the register of St. John's Church, where the record of his marriage to Miss Diana Rochfort on January 19, 1774, is to be seen. Three children of the marriage were baptized at St. John's Church: Henrietta Amelia and William (January 20, 1776) and Diana (January 2, 1778.)

D.—"SYLHET" THACKERAY AND BARWELL.

As a pendant to "Sylhet" Thackeray's account of his relations with Barwell, the following "minute of the Gov: Genl : and Mr. Barwell" (Original Consultation, September 12, 1775, No. 1) may be studied :—

The Secretary is desired to record the following joint Minute of the Gov : Genl : & Mr. Barwell containing their Opinions respecting the Conduct of Mr. Thackeray in the Charges which have been exhibited against him.

1. That Mr. Thackeray as Collector of the District acted improperly and in contradiction to the standing Order of Government in taking and holding the Farm of Silhet.

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2. That he is reprehensible in having imposed the sale of his salt on the Inhabitants, although the price at which it was fixed was moderate, and the orders which he issued were well calculated to secure the Ryots from any additional Grievance. The Custom of the Country might encourage, but it could not warrant, an act of that nature.
3. That he is totally innocent of the similar charge of having imposed the sale of Tobacco on the Inhabitants.
4. That the encrease of 41,000 Cawns of Cawries laid on the Jumna is neither an oppressive Tax, nor contrary to his Lease. It is justified by the increase made on the Farm by Government.
5. That the Movers of the Complaints against him were instigated by base and incendiary motives, that the collections were impeded by their artifices, and that many of the evidences were suborned.
6. That Mr. Thackeray is innocent of appropriation, that his conduct has been moderate and his Collections duly kept up. His crimes are the crimes of a deviation from the public Regulations and a violation of the rigid line of propriety. Crimes productive of no ill consequence in themselves, but of bad Example.
7. That he should be removed from Silhet both as the punishment of his offience and as a security to the Complainants against his Resentment.
8. That the Provincial Council of Dacca should have orders to depute one of their members to make a New Settlement of Silhet, collect the intermediate Rents; to settle the accounts of the present Farmers with the Company; and of the Riots & culkennadars and Aumils with the Farmers; and to take Mr. Thackeray with him if the Provincial Council judge it necessary but without authority.
9. That Ragoo Mullic be compelled to answer the Complaints of the Riots in the Dewanni Adaulut of Dacca for imposing upon them bad Tobacco at an enhanced price, that the Complainants should be told to make their applications to the Dewanny Adaulut and their Complaints immediately heard and determined.

Sd. WARREN HASTINGS
" R. BARWELL.

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The First Marriage of Mrs. Hastings.

THE mention in Farington's Diary, in the course of its publication by the *Morning Post*, of Mrs. Hastings as having been a maid of honour at the Court of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and thence married to Baron Imhoff, seemed to hold out great possibilities. It accounted at once for the favour in which she stood with Queen Charlotte and her friendship with "Mrs. Schwellenburg" the Keeper of the Robes and I began to hope that the mystery enshrouding her early life might be dispelled to some extent by the discovery of the date of her marriage and possibly also that of the birth of her eldest son, afterwards Sir Charles Imhoff.

By the advice of Mr. Foster, I wrote to the Burgomaster of Neu Strelitz asking him if there was any record of either the marriage or the birth in the registers under his care. He replied that there was none in the town archives, but that as marriage registers did not come under the control of the State till 1875, he had also searched the Church records and those of the Court for the years I named to him—1756 to 1768. This search again was fruitless, but he further enlisted the help of the Pastor in whose custody the earlier ecclesiastical records remain and he made another thorough search—still without finding any of the desired names.

Thus we are once more in a *cul de sac*, as in the case of Stuttgart. It is, of course, possible that the marriage was purposely arranged to take place outside the State, especially, if, as Farington baldly avers, it was not unattended by scandal. It may even have been solemnized in England, and a list of the German attendants who accompanied, or followed, Queen Charlotte on her wedding journey, might show us the name of Miss Chapuset. But considerations of age would seem to make it more likely that the marriage took place in Germany, and that the couple came to England to seek help from the Queen. At present the courtesy and careful searches of the Burgomaster and Pastor of Neu Strelitz merely make it certain that it did not take place in that town, or in the precincts of the Court.

SYDNEY C. GRIER.

[NOTE.—See *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. V, p. 333, for previous researches by "Sydney C. Grier" on this subject: "Some Fresh Light on

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the Second Mrs. Hastings and Her Family." Extracts are there given from a series of articles by Herr Rektor Lochner in the "Korrespondent von and für Deutschland," Nurember 9, 1863: and interesting portraits are reproduced of Mrs. Hastings and her mother and brother, which are in the possession of Frl. Mülberger of Stuttgart, a descendant of the brother, Baron Chapuzet.

According to Lochner, the Chapuzet family were living at Nuremberg in 1763, when a young officer, Christof Adam Karl von Imhoff, arrived there on a visit to a family of his acquaintance. The end of the Seven Years War had left him without employment and he was going about from one household to another, and repaying the hospitality he received by portrait-painting. No information has come to light regarding the manner in which he became acquainted with Anna Maria Apollonia who was then a girl of 15 or 16, and the family records of the Imhoffs are said not to contain a single mention of her. The marriage would be regarded as a misalliance, for Anna Maria had been brought up in poverty and was the daughter of a Sergeant in the Imperial Army. "We can only say," writes Lochner, "that the couple left Nuremberg, were married somewhere—perhaps in some country place, for it cannot be doubted that they were married in church—and then went immediately to England where they must have lived for several years, Imhoff earning a livelihood for himself and his family, which now included two sons, by painting. Of these years also no record remains."—*Ed.*]

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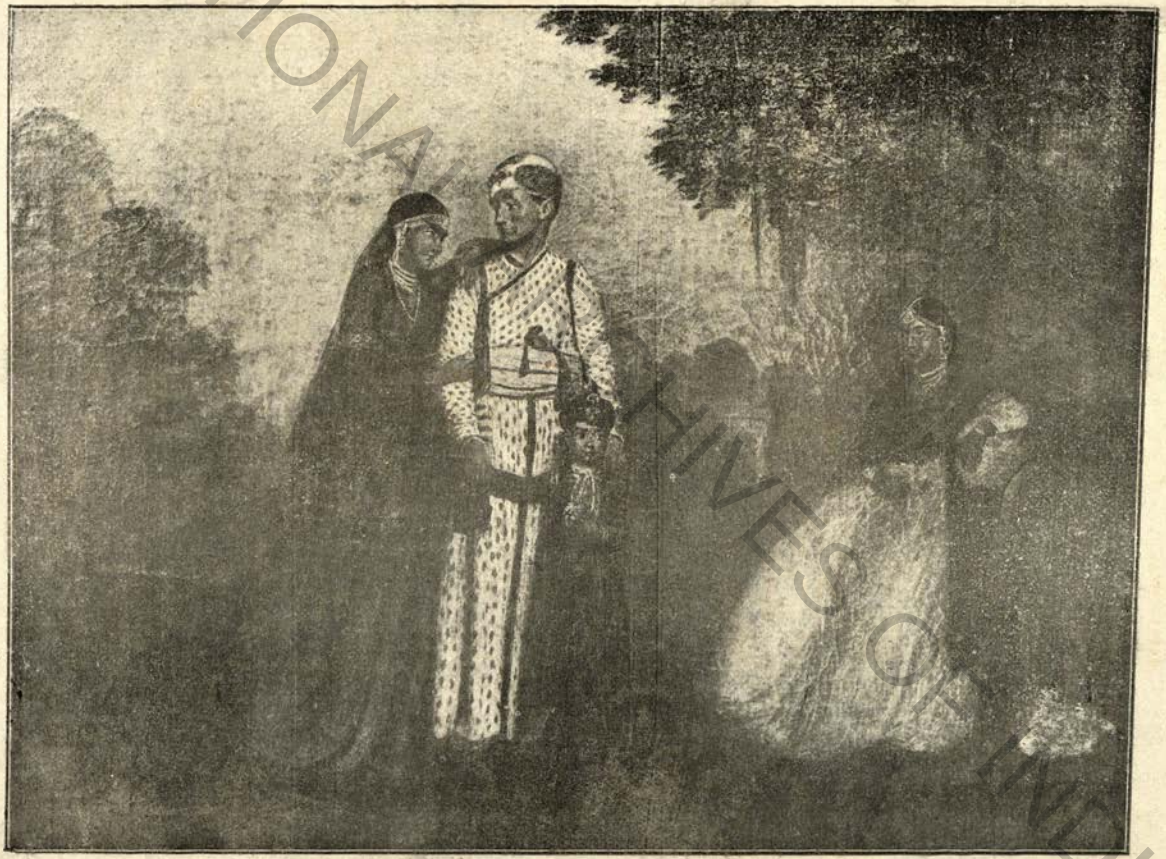

"A HINDUSTANI FAMILY"
(From the Picture in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.)

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George Beechey and his Indian Wife.

ON page 14 of the late Dr. C. R. Wilson's "Descriptive Catalogue of the Paintings, etc., in the Rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," (Calcutta, 1917) the following description is given of a picture on the east landing :—

No. 36.—A Hindustani Family :—

This is really a picture of a European in Indian costume, with a native wife and their daughter and son. The painter may have been George Beechey.—Size 49" × 37."

The name of the painter (Dr. Wilson told me) was supplied by the late Mr. Alexander E. Caddy.

Who are the members of this "Hindustani Family;" One possible supposition (which deserves mention, but need not pressed) is that the European in oriental costume may be Major-General Charles Stuart who once lived in a house at the corner of Wood Street and Theatre Road and died there on March 31, 1828, at the age of seventy. He was known as "Hindu" Stuart, from his predilection for Hindu customs and ideas. He built a temple at Saugor, and when he went to Europe took his idols with him. His tomb in the South Park-Street cemetery is one of the sights of that place. It is constructed of elaborately carved black stone which once formed part of a Hindu temple, and the recesses on each side of the door way are occupied by ancient sculptured figures of "Bhagiruth," the incarnation of the Ganges, and "Prithi Devi," the goddess of the earth, and fairies and sannyasis, while the bust of an elaborately decorated Hindu goddess crowns the whole.

I was at one time inclined (see *Calcutta Old and New*, p. 924) to believe that the painting represented General Benoit de Boigne, with his Indian wife Noor Begum and their son and daughter. Thomas Twining visited this celebrated soldier of fortune at Koel in 1794 ("Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago," London, 1893) and says of him : "His tall upright figure reminded one of Sir Robert Abercromby [the Commander-in-Chief] : while a polite gracious relaxation of a certain air of military authority was not perhaps less prepos sessing than ease more habitual." DeBoigne resigned the service of Daulat Rao Scindia in 1796, after winning a series of "extraordinary victories" of which the "fame filled all India;" and after residing for a short time in London, went to his native town of Chambéry in Savoy where he died

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on June 21, 1830, leaving a fortune of twenty millions of francs. The Fontaine des Eléphants at Chambéry commemorates his many benefactions and bears the following inscription: "Benedicto de Boigne Camberiensi Grata Civitas MDCCCXXXVIII. Quam apud Indos Mahrattas fama nominis illustrarat patriam inauditis largitionibus vivus replevit."

If the identification of the Asiatic Society's mystery picture with this fascinating adventurer is accepted, the artist cannot be George Beechey, for he did not come to India until 1830. But I have now arrived at the conclusion that the authorship should be ascribed to Beechey and that the persons represented are Beechey himself and his Indian wife Hinda, with their children. In support of this theory I append an account of Beechey, taken from the concluding sentences of an article on "European Artists at the Court of Lucknow" which appeared in the *Pioneer* of March 29, 1919:—

> Home (1) was succeeded as Court painter at Lucknow by George Beechey, the son of Sir William Beechey, R. A. So long as his father's influence lasted, George Beechey did well and exhibited twenty five pictures in English galleries between 1817 and 1830. When Dame Fortune became less kind to him, he determined to woo her in India and reached Calcutta about the year 1830. He was glad to step into Home's place at Lucknow where he became both Court painter and Controller of the household of the King of Oudh. (2) Shortly after his arrival in India, he married an Indian Lady and in 1832 exhibited her portrait in the Hibernian Academy, calling the picture, "Hinda, an Indian Lady." Very little is on record regarding Beechey's closing years. He is believed to have died in India in 1855 or the preceding year."

The account in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where he is styled George D. Beechey (fl. 1817-1855), differs in some respects. We are told that his first picture was shown in the Royal Academy of 1817, and that he had many sitters while his father's influence lasted. But Sir William Beechey sold his collection of works of art in 1836 and retired to Hampstead where he died three years later, at the age of 85: and about 1830 George

(1) Home left Lucknow in 1828 and went to reside with his married daughter, Mrs. Anne Walker, at Cawnpore where he died (and not at Calcutta, as stated in the *Dictionary of National Biography*) on September 12, 1834. His grave, says the writer in the *Pioneer*, is to be found beside that of his daughter in the Cutchery cemetery close to the gates on the left hand side of the entrance.

(2) Nasir-ud-deen Hyder, the hero of William Knighton's *Private Life of an Eastern King*, occupied the guddee of Oudh from 1827 to 1837 Captain Mundy in his "Sketches of India" describe him as "a plain vulgar looking man" with an unusually dark complexion Grave doubts exist as to his being the son of Ghazi-ud-deen Hyder, whom he succeeded. (See Fanny Parks, *Wanderings in Search of the Picturesque*, vol. I. p. 188).

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Beechey's commissions had declined so rapidly that he decided to leave England. As for the portrait of Hinda, this is stated most distinctly to have been exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1832, and not at the Hibernian Academy. But whether the exhibition took place in London or Dublin some sensation was evidently caused by the picture: for Miss Emma Roberts thus writes of it in her "Scenes and Characteristics of Hindustan" (Vol. II, pp. 144-145: Edn., 1835) :—

> The place of Mr. Home is supplied, at the Court of Lucknow, by Mr. George Beechey, who had distinguished himself by several masterly efforts of the pencil before he left England, and whose portrait of a native female, sent over and exhibited two years ago at Somerset House, attracted the attention of the best judges of the art. It is said, but whether on sufficient authority we are unable to state, that Asiatic prejudices had been so far remitted as to allow this gentleman access to the royal zenana, for the purpose of taking the portrait of the favourite wife. Such an innovation cannot fail to produce very important results; and there are too many indications of a similar nature occurring all over British India, to render it at all doubtful that, at no very distant period, the whole fabric of jealous restriction will give way, and that the women of Hindostan will receive the full enjoyment of liberty so long denied.

Miss Roberts seems to have mixed up her facts: but the reference to Somerset House, where the exhibitions of the Royal Academy were then held, throws the balance of evidence against Dublin, and in favour of London.

I have yet a third piece of evidence, in the shape of a note recorded by Mr. A. E. Caddy, who examined the Asiatic Society's picture in 1903 ;—

> George Beechey was painter and A. D. C. to the King of Oudh. My father knew him well in the early forties when his regiment was at Lucknow and they painted together considerably. Of his domestic relations I have come to know through my mother who visited his household. The painting in all probability represents George Beechey in the costume of a Nawab in the bosom of his family. He was many wived, but I know of only one son whom I have only heard of, George Beechey, who was somewhere in the Punjab. The boy in the picture may be this son.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses another picture by Beechey which must have been one of his earliest commissions in Calcutta. It is a half length portrait of Dr. John Adam (1792-1830), Secretary to the Medical Board, and it hangs, according to Wilson, in the meeting room. This was originally painted for the Medical and Physical Society of Bengal, which

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was founded by Adam and Dr. James Hare. The likeness is considered to be a good one, although the artist had nothing to aid him except an indifferent miniature and his own impressions of a slight acquaintance with Dr. Adam.

There are other notable examples of the work of George Beechey in Calcutta. There are in the possession of Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore whose grand-uncle, the Hon'ble Prosunno Coomar Tagore, was one of the artist's principal patrons. Besides a number of family portraits, the collection includes "A Nautch Girl" and a sketch of Mirza Furreedoon Jah, (1838-1880) the last Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

Yet another picture by Beechey may be recalled by the following reminiscence. When I visited Sir William Howard Russell, the veteran war correspondent, in London about the year 1909, and enquired of him regarding his recollections of Avitabile, he told me that when the British soldiers got into the Kaiser Bagh at Lucknow, they destroyed a number of large pictures of nude and voluptuous Indian females painted by Zoffany (?) which adorned its walls. He was given one of the pictures out of the loot, which I saw hanging in his hall at Cromwell Road. It was, he said, painted by George Beechey, and was a large full sized portrait of one of the beauties of the Court, purhaps that favourite wife, to which Miss. Roberts refers (3).

JULIAN JAMES COTTON,
Madras Civil Service.

(3) In the Life of Sir W. H. Russell by Mr. J. B. Atkins (2 Vols. 1911) we read: "The only memento Russell took away from the Kaiser Bagh was a picture entitled Cleopatra by Sir William Beechey (sic). The story goes that the original was a fair Circassian, the King of Oude's favourite wife, who had the fancy to be painted in this role." This confusion of father with son appears to be common.

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English Verse in Old Calcutta.

WITH A DIGRESSION UPON THE ORIGINS OF ANGLO-INDIAN LITERATURE.

THE title of this article may appear to indicate material that does not come within the scope of a purely historical magazine dealing with Bengal, Past and Present. Poetry, however, may throw much light on history; and so many of the writers of English verse in India have been closely associated with Calcutta, that a record of their achievements can find no more suitable welcome than from the journal that deals with the historic past of Bengal.

Three Anthologies.

Who were the poets of old Calcutta, and where may their works be found? There is no easy answer to this question. In the first place they themselves were careless of their own productions, a carelessness which posterity has not failed to reciprocate; and in the second, there have been but few collections of their works. Of these there have been three. In 1840, Captain David Lester Richardson produced for the use of Indian students in the Presidency College, a voluminous work entitled *Selections from the British Poets*. As an appendix to this he was wise enough to print a number of poems by writers in Bengal. He collected eighteen names including his own, and this appendix is the first anthology of British poetry printed in India. Richardson is a notable figure. He was on the staff of Lord William Bentinck, and through the influence of Macaulay whom he delighted by his reading of Shakespeare, he was appointed to the Presidency College. He edited *The Bengal Annual*, a collection of prose and verse that appeared before 1840, and that furnished much of the material republished in his appendix to the *Selections from the British Poets*. The second of our three anthologists is Thomas Philip Manuel. In 1861 he published in Calcutta *The Poetry of our Indian Poets*. This work has little distinction. It does not improve upon the verse collected by Richardson; but it has one feature of value. It provides brief introductory biographies of the authors whose poems are represented, and these are useful to any investigator of forgotten names and works. Seven years later, in 1868, Thomas Benson Laurence published his *English Poetry in India, being biographical and critical notices of Anglo-Indian Poets with copious extracts from their writings*. This does little or nothing

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to extend the labours of Manuel. Indeed no one of the three compilations named shows any useful historical research. The best writers have been ignored, poems of topical or local value are unmentioned, and the reader is supposed to content himself with a few minor poems written in or about the time of each anthology.

Left to these three works, then, the seeker after English verse written in India, would fare but badly. He must become his own compiler, spend days in libraries outside of Bengal, wade through files of newspapers, and hunt down many an elusive and forgotten publication long out of print, before he can arrive at any just opinion of the value of English verse written in India. Assuming that this toil has been accomplished, it is reasonable to ask how this verse came into existence. What impulse lay behind its creation, and how is it related to the larger literary life of contemporary England? The question leads us far from Bengal; and compels a digression which, it is hoped, will not be condemned as irrelevant or uninteresting.

A Digression upon Origins.

When the United East India Company was formed in 1702 and given final Parliamentary recognition in 1708, the popular notion of India and of the East in general was vague and fantastic. What lay beyond the Levant was still the land of Marco Polo's thousand wondrous tales; and the conception of El Dorado and of tropical gums and spices, was perhaps as alluring as it was to the Elizabethans who listened with breathless delight to the gorgeous lines of Marlowe's Tamburlaine and to the sensuous portrayal of Shakespeare's Cleopatra. Now quite in keeping with this conception of the East, and within four years of the final establishment of the United East India Company, there happened one of the most startling events in the history of world-literature. This was the appearance in Europe, for the first time in any language of Christendom, of the *Arabian Nights*. France has the honour of this introduction. M. Francois Galland, Professor of Arabic in the College de France, translated into French a large number of the *Nights*. They became the rage in Paris. The bewildered Professor was roused from his bed by young nobles returning from their revels and compelled to tell more of his delightful stories. These stories soon crossed the Channel, and by 1712 there were at least three editions in English. From this date edition after edition issued from the London Presses of Arabian, Turkish, Persian and Chinese tales, many of them clever imitations, but all feeding the new appetite for the marvels of the East. They gave rise to some fine writing. On this model Addison wrote his *Vision of Mirza*, Samuel Johnson his *Rasselas*, William Beckford his *History of the Caliph Vathek*, and even within living memory, George Meredith did not despise this model in his *Shaving of Shagpat*. Writing of this kind had no connection with the East

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of reality. It was a literature of fantastic marvels that found a ready reception in the drawing-rooms of wealth and fashion, and that soon discovered its own antidote in satire. By about the middle of the eighteenth century the *Arabian Nights* craze had begun to exhaust itself; it was too artificial to endure; it stimulated some witty parody, notably that of Horace Walpole, and it produced a masterly rebuke in Goldsmith's thirty third letter of the *Citizen of the World*, a letter devoted wholly to the exposure of "the fictions every day propagated here under the titles of eastern tales and oriental histories." On this curious literary phenomenon it is impossible to dwell here at length. To us it is of importance because it bred a vigorous reaction against itself, and this reaction took the form of a literature of realistic description of the East, which, before the nineteenth century was ten years old, had become notable both in prose and in verse.

Space forbids the detailed outline of this literature; but it may be of interest to state that the first novel in our history that takes India or Anglo-Indian life as its theme dates from the year 1744. In this year appeared *The Lady's Drawing Room, being a faithful picture of the Great World.* This contains two stories with unpromising titles but of an unexpectedly realistic kind. The first, *The History of Rodomond and the Beautiful Indian*, is a simple tale of a young Englishman appointed to the service of the East India Company. As interpreter to a factory in Bombay, he had incurred the hatred of an Indian merchant whose duplicity he had exposed. He was kidnapped; and, when about to be murdered, he was rescued by Zoa, the merchant's daughter, on condition that he would leave Bombay on his release and take her with him to avoid the vengeance of her father. The conditions were fulfilled and Rodomond brought the young woman to his family in England. The second story, *The True History of Henrietta de Bellgrave*, tells us of the misfortunes of a French lady of family who was captured by pirates on her way to the East Indies. She was landed on the Bombay coast and handed over to a rich Indian who induced her to marry him. Their child was the Zoa of the preceding story, the rich Indian being the enemy of Rodomond. These simple stories are acceptable to the modern reader; and they may be taken as the earliest specimens of the Anglo-Oriental novel. Of the same type is *The Female Captive, a narrative of facts which happened in Barbary.* This was published in 1769, and professes to be the true story of the adventures of Mrs. Crisp with the Moslem pirates of the Mediterranean. *The Fair Syrian* of Robert Bage appeared in 1787: it touches upon Turkey in a compilation of dull letters. *The Disinterested Nabob* of 1788 carries on the type of theme illustrated in *The Lady's Drawing Room*; and Mrs. Pilkington's *Asiatic Princess*, published in 1800, has for heroine the King of Siam's daughter, adopted by an English lady who had a brief acquaintance

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with Indian life in Calcutta. The *Romantic Tales* of Matthew Gregory Lewis appeared in 1808; and of these *The Anaconda* gives a realistic story of English adventure in Ceylon. No one of these productions does more than show that India and the East had become a theme for reasonable fiction on lines far different to those of the incredible *Arabian Nights*. But to the eighteenth century we owe more than these slight descriptions of English life in the Orient. About 1796 there had been written, but not published, one of the best realistic novels of the East that our literature possesses, *The Anastasius* of Thomas Hope. This deals with the Moslem life of the Levant, with Greece, Turkey, Syria and Egypt. After its publication in 1819 it was attributed to Lord Byron. It became widely popular, and was the model of Morier's immortal novel, *Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, which appeared in 1824. In both these works the East had at last found a truly realistic description of its way of life; and the people of England could find more sobering material for the exercise of their imagination than in the fantastic marvels of the *Arabian Nights*.

As in prose so in poetry. The verse writers of the 18th century came slowly to Eastern themes, as to something but vaguely understood, and before the year 1800 there is scarcely anything of note to put on record. The *Oriental Eclogues* of William Collins have nothing Eastern save a few place names. Poems of the same title were published in 1782 by John Scott. They are conventionally dull productions, and show no trace of genuine oriental influence; but one of the poems has for subject a scandal connected with the great famine in Bengal. Before the 18th century closed Walter Savage Landor had published *Gebir* based on the story of Charoba, Queen of Egypt, in Clara Reeve's *Progress of Romance*. But the significance of this work is slight in comparison with that of Robert Southey, the friend of Landor, whose *Thalaba, the Destroyer,* in 1801 and the *Curse of Kehama,* in 1810, describe and illustrate the two great divergent systems of life and thought in the East. The first was completed in Portugal; its story is Arabian and Islamic. It is laboriously annotated throughout ten books, and magic and enchantment are woven into the thread of the story; but, in spite of lengthy descriptions of such cities as Bagdad, it does little to illustrate Moslem civilization. The second was published in 1810. It had the advantage of an entirely fresh subject, and was welcomed by a public sick of the magical wonders of the Moslem world. Its verse is more popular than that of Thalaba; and its descriptions of Hindu ritual are patiently detailed: descriptions that could have been written only after patient study and research. Soon after the publication of *The Curse of Kehama*, Thomas Moore set to work upon *Lalla Rookh*, a poem that is too frequently read apart from its prose setting, where the the careful study of

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Indian life in its most picturesque aspects is revealed. The work is an anthology of romantic verse on Mogul India rather than a single poem. Moore made the utmost of his material without having been in actual contact with the life or scenery which he described. But, for this defect, his industry and imagination could never atone; and the Lady Louisa Stewart, that shrewd observer of men and books, was quick to note the unreality of his saccharine verse: "I feel as if I were eating raspberry and apricot jam till they cloyed and sickenend me." Sir Walter Scott, in one of the critical prefaces to his novels, in which he speaks of the East as a probable theme for his own treatment, acknowledged the industry shown by Southey and Moore in the compilation of their oriental poems; but in these he saw little more than a laborious investigation into the history and manners of Easten countries. Scott was a shrewd and experienced critic. He saw the absurdity of writing about the life and thought of nations or countries unvisited; and when Byron, who had travelled extensively in Asia Minor, came to write his oriental Tales in verse, Scott was loud in his praise. Here at last was the genuine thing. Byron, he wrote, had joined "ocular experience to extensive reading." The East, in so far as he knew it, was his by right of actual investigation; and what was beyond his personal knowledge, he had the good sense to leave alone. We have now reached the beginning of the nineteenth century, when war, travel and trade had opened up an Orient other than that of the *Arabian Nights*, and when the English, firmly established in India, could find an interest in things other than commerce.

British Poets in India—Sir William Jones.

In the *Anastasius* Thomas Hope brought the East of reality into English prose. In his *Tales in Verse*, Byron brought an Orient far different from that of Southey or Moore into English poetry. And with the East of reality, it is scarcely necessary to remark, the writers of English verse in India were wholly concerned. Herein lies the whole value of their work. None of them were poets of the first class. Few of their names survive, but they did a great service to their countrymen in so far as they described what they saw. They unveiled the Orient for the curious West. They were content to do without magic and enchantment, and to rely upon oriental scenery, religion, history, life and literature as adequate themes. Their work was begun at the close of the 18th century, and one of the first and greatest of their number was Sir William Jones. In the career of this remarkable man there is fully illustrated the movement from the false to the true orientalism. As a scholar of University College, Oxford, he began in 1764 his study of oriental languages. As we have already seen, it was almost precisely at this time that England had recovered from the pseudo-oriental craze begotten of

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the *Arabian Nights*, and had begun to move towards a genuine knowledge of the real East. In 1770 Jones was at work on his translation of the Persian life of Nadir Shah; and before 1772 he had rendered much Eastern poetry into English verse. He was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court at Fort William in 1783, and in the following year he founded The Asiatic Society of Bengal. His leisure in India was chiefly occupied with Sanskrit studies. With his youth passed amid the pseudo-orientalism of mid-eighteenth century England, we find him in his maturity wholly concerned with the Classics of Ancient India, and at the same time familiar with Arabic and Persian literature. His contribution to English poetry is not great; but, from our special point of view, it is of the utmost value. In a series of original odes he attempted to explain the Hindu system of faith, addressing each to one or other of the Hindu deities. In this way his verse became a vehicle of scholarly instruction, exemplifying that stately dignity that derives from Milton and Gray. Its presentation of a great theme is nearly always adequate, and it contains a noble tribute to the mythology of the East. Its dignified movement, that quality of the Miltonic style that the 18th century never forgot to admire, is in perfect keeping with the greatness of its subject. The close of the Hymn to Narayan is typical:

> My soul absorb'd one only Being knows,
> Of all perceptions one abundant source,
> Whence every object every moment flows;
> Suns hence derive their force,
> Hence planets learn their course;
> But suns and fading worlds I view no more;
> God only I perceive; God only I adore.

The death of Sir William Jones in 1794 left no school of English poetry established in India; but his work stimulated the interest of Englishmen in the East, and brought to the notice of scholars the heaped treasures of oriental learning that Europe had yet to explore.

Leyden, Malcolm, Heber and Derozio.

If Sir William Jones may be said to have had a successor in the East, that place of honour must be given to Dr. John Leyden whose enthusiasm for Eastern scholarship hastened his untimely death. He lives in the history of learning by his translation of Babar's memoirs; and what verse he wrote in India is almost unique in its pure poetical quality. He was the friend of Sir Walter Scott who lamented his death in *The Lord of the Isles*, and a border poet of renown before he came to India; but the East brought no inspiration to his Muse. He is remembered by his *Ode to an Indian Gold Coin*, by his lines on the Battle of Assaye and by the fervour of his

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verses written at Saugor Island in 1807 where he expresses an utter loathing of certain superstitious rites belonging to Hinduism:—

> Not all blue Ganga's mountain-flood,
> That rolls so proudly round thy fane,
> Shall cleanse the tinge of human blood,
> Nor wash dark Saugor's impious stain:
> The sailor journeying on the main,
> Shall view from far the dreary isle,
> And curse the ruins of the pile,
> Where Mercy ever sued in vain.

Leyden died in 1811. His death was lamented in the verse of Sir John Malcolm who appears to have been shy of seeking a place amongst the poets. But in 1829 he had printed privately in Bombay his *Miscellaneous Poems*, one autograph copy of which exists in the Imperial Library of Calcutta. The only verse of true value this little volume contains is the lament on Leyden's death. Bishop Heber was scarcely more voluminous than Sir John Malcolm in his poetical work; but he was a true lover of the East. He resembles Sir William Jones in this that he was attracted to oriental themes while a student at Oxford. All lovers of poetry know his Newdigate poem on Palestine with the famous lines on the building of Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem, inserted at the suggestion of Sir Walter Scott—

> No hammer fell, no ponderous axes rung,
> Like some tall palm, the mystic fabric sprung.

It was fitting that their author should visit India, and equally fitting that from his pen should come the most happily detailed description of the Ganges that our English literature possesses. This poem is rivalled only by that of Horace Hayman Wilson who left India for the Boden professorship of Sanskrit at Oxford in 1832, after a lengthy term as secretary of the Asiatic Society.

In this group of notable people must be placed the interesting figure of Henry Derozio who was born in Calcutta in 1809. Here he was educated, and in 1826 he was appointed to the Hindu College. In 1831 he died of cholera. His longest work is the *Fakeer of Jangheera*, a poem full of literary promise; but he is perhaps best known by his verses *On the Abolition of Suttee* which were published in 1829.

So far, then the writers named do not come beyond the year 1830. Their work was serious in tone, and, as in that of Sir William Jones, inspired as much by a love of scholarship as by a fondness for literary exercise.

Burlesque Descriptive Poems.

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But they were not the only claimants for poetic recognition. There were less serious writers to whom the life of the English in India was one continual source of amusement, and who loved the exercise of that burlesque form of verse that from *Hudibras* to *John Gilpin* has lightened the seriousness of English poetry. Their work touches no high level of attainment. It is not poetry in any true sense; but it has the value of throwing light upon the manners and customs of the English in India long before the railway and the telegraph had driven leisure from the land. The point of view of these writers has been wittily described by George Francklin Atkinson of the Bengal Engineers in his introductory verses to the famous *Curry and Rice*. The lines are too good to be given in anything but full quotation :—

What varied opinions we constantly hear
Of our rich Oriental possessions;
What a jumble of notions, distorted and queer,
Form an Englishman's "Indian impressions!"

First a sun, fierce and glaring, that scorches and bakes,
Palankeens, perspiration, and worry;
Mosquitoes, thugs, cocoanuts, Brahmins, and snakes,
With elephants, tigers, and curry.

Then Juggernat, punkahs, tanks, buffaloes, forts,
With bangles, mosques, nautches, and dhingees;
A mixture of temples, Mahometans, ghats,
With scorpions, Hindoos, and Feringhees.

Then jungles, fakeers, dancing-girls, prickly heat,
Shawls, idols, durbars, brandy-pawny;
Rupees, clever jugglers, dust storms, slipper'd feet,
Rainy season, and mulligatawny.

Hot winds, holy monkeys, tall minarets, rice,
With crocodiles, ryots or farmers;
Himalayas, fat baboos, with paunches and pice,
So airily clad in pyjamas,

With Rajahs.—But stop, I must really desist,
And let each one enjoy his opinions,
Whilst I show in what style Anglo-Indians exist
In Her Majesty's Eastern dominions.

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The last two lines describe exactly the motive that prompted the production of such works as *Calcutta, a Poem* in 1811, *The Adventures of Qui Hi* in 1816, *The Life and Adventures of Shigram-Po* in 1821, *The City of Palaces* in 1824, and *Tom Raw, the Griffin*, in the same year. These are the most entertaining publications of this kind; and two of them, *Qui Hi* and *Tom Raw*, lose nothing by the abundance and excellence of their coloured prints, the second book being written and illustrated by Sir Charles D'Oyly. An excellent model for this kind of descriptive verse was produced as early as 1789 in The *Letters of Simpkin the Second containing a description of the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq.*, with a burlesque dedication to Edmund Burke. From internal evidence, the author of this clever production may have resided for some time in India, but his name is still unknown. Hastings himself cultivated a dilettante muse, and according to Macaulay regaled his guests at breakfast with the lucubrations of the previous night. Much of his verse has been preserved and reprinted in an appendix to the biography; and it may rank with the lighter efforts of the writers already named.

Of these writers let us look more closely at those directly connected with Bengal. The first poem named, that of 1811, and entitled *Calcutta*, is probably from the hand of Sir Charles D'Oyly. An interesting print, depicting a subaltern in his tent with heels on table and wholly absorbed in his hookah, closely resembles the work of this artist whose career in India began in 1796. He was collector of Dacca in 1808 and retired from the Company's service in 1833. The poem is disappointing in so far as it throws little light on contemporary European life in Calcutta, and dwells at great length on the discomforts of existence in a city as yet ignorant of sanitation or electric light and fans. The hideous nuisance of the ubiquitous insect has never been better set forth than in the following lines:—

Alas! creative nature calls to light
Myriads of winged forms in sportive flight,
When gathered clouds with ceaseless fury pour
A constant deluge in the rushing shower,
On every dish the bouncing beetle falls,
The cockroach plays, or caterpillar crawls;
A thousand shapes of variegated hues
Parade the table, and inspect the stews!
To living walls the swarming hundreds stick,
Or court a dainty meal, the oil wick;
Heaps over heaps their slimy bodies drench,
Out go the lamps with suffocating stench!
When hideous insects ev'ry plate defile,
The laugh how empty, and how forced the smile!

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The knife and fork a quiet moment steal,
Slumber secure, and bless the idle meal;
The pensive master, leaning in his chair,
With manly patience mutters in despair—
O England! show, with all thy fabled bliss,
One scene of real happiness like this!

Different in style and temper is *The City of Palaces*, written in 1824 by James Atkinson, a member of the Bengal Medical Service. He came to India in 1805, was Assay Master of the Mint, on the staff of the College of Fort William and the originator in 1823 of the Calcutta Annual Register. He won fame as a Persian scholar; and had he wished, he might have made his name as a writer of descriptive verse. His poem on the City of Palaces is short and not particularly informing, but it contains what is rare in the English literature of this period in India, a description of the notorious Charak Pujah:

Lo! high aloft a frantic zealot swings,
The iron in his body deep and fast,
Suspended by the sinewy back, he flings
His arms abroad, revolving round the mast;
Dead to all pain, behold him gaily cast
Oblations o'er the crowd; the friends below
Whirl him more rapidly, till tired at last,
The maddened wretch descends, full pleased to shew
The quivering flesh torn up,—the blood devoted, flow.

To *Shigram-Po* and *Tom Raw* we must turn for topical and historical allusions, and these are so plentiful that copious illustrations must be relegated to an appendix. The first was published by the Government Gazette Press of Calcutta in 1821. It relates the life history of a cadet in the Company's military service, and runs through thirty two cantos and three hundred pages of varied burlesque metres that are made tolerable to the modern reader mainly by the interesting light they throw upon Indian military life in the early twenties of last century. Not less than two thirds of the poem are occupied with the voyage to Bengal by way of Madras; there are lurid descriptions of the Baraset College, the Sandhurst of India, and a few sprightly descriptions of life in Calcutta. Both in structure and in variety of incident the poem is distinctly inferior to *Tom Raw*; but Sir Charles D'Oyly was artist as well as versifier, and the twenty five delightful prints that illustrate his twelve cantos enhance the pictorial effects of his clever verse. His book has become a classic with the price of a rare classic, and fortunate collectors may now secure a copy for thirty pounds. Not the least interesting of his twelve cantos is the fifth which is devoted to a mild satire upon George

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Chinnery, the artist who came to India from China, lived in Madras for five years until 1808, and then visited Calcutta. Scarcely any aspect of the Anglo-Indian life of the period is left untouched in this valuable and interesting work, which is the last of its kind. It appeared in 1824; and after this date no poem of similar variety or extent on the subject of Calcutta manners and customs was produced. But, while English verse in Bengal fell off in quantity, it improved in quality; and the wittiest and most accomplished poet of Calcutta follows upon the group of writers just described.

Henry Meredith Parker was born in 1796. He joined the service of the Company and rose to be a member of the Calcutta Board of Customs, Salt and Opium. He left India in 1842 with the reputation of a poet, musician, actor and public speaker; and his verse still lives to delight the lover of Bengal's past. In 1827 he published his first poem, *the Draught of Immortality*; and much later a clever miscellany of prose and verse, entitled *Bole Ponjis* or the Punch Bowl. This contains two poems, *the Adjutant Bird* and *the Late Mr. Simms*, which are in the first rank of descriptive writing, the latter recreating the delightful old-world atmosphere of the viceroyalty of Lord Cornwallis, and drawing an inimitable portrait of the Calcutta merchant of John Company's day. Mr. Simms, with his Nankeen breeches and China silk stockings, is likely to live in the literature of British India, a figure that Austin Dobson would have loved to portray, had he known the curious habits of the English in Calcutta towards the year 1800. Quotation is tempting but superfluous as the whole dainty production is printed in full in the appendix to this article. Of more serious intention is *the Adjutant Bird* with its historical setting and its fine strain of patriotic fervour when Clive—"A paunchy looking man with crimson breeches"—comes on the scene. It would be hard to find a better description of the founders of the British Empire in India than that contained in one of the later stanzas of this poem:—

> Men who prepared ambrosial Sangaree,
> And double Sangaree or Sangarorum,
> Now took a fleet, now sold a pound of tea,
> Weighed soap, stormed forts, held princes in terrorem,
> Drank, fought, smoked, lied, went home, and, good papas,
> Gave diamonds to their little boys for taws.

But space forbids further quotation; and we must hasten to complete our sketchy survey of this interesting section of British literature. With Parker is associated James Hutchinson, secretary to the Medical Board of Bengal, who wrote in 1837 *the Sunyasee* which he republished ten years later as *The Pilgrim of India*. This poem contains three admirable lyrics one of which, the Pindaree's song, is a vigorous piece of warlike verse.

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Contemporary with Hutchinson was John William Kaye who came to India in 1833. He established the *Calcutta Review* in 1844, and found time for a certain amount of capable verse writing, little of which has survived. William Francis Thompson who died in 1843, is distinquished mainly by two poems in which he reproduces the sentiments of an orthodox Hindu contemplating the Ganges after its defilement by the presence of an alien race in India. Both are dramatic in the extreme, and full of a fine sympathy with Hindu feeling. Thompson's *Indian Revelry* is perhaps the most poignant of all the poetry of exile produced in Bengal, and conjures up for the modern reader the less pleasant aspects of life in old Calcutta. Here are some of his lines:—

We meet 'neath the sounding rafter,
And the walls around are bare,
As they shout to our peals of laughter,
It seems that the dead are there;
So stand to your glasses, steady!
We drink in our comrades' eyes;
A cup to the dead already—
Hurrah! for the next that dies.

Not here are the goblets glowing,
Not here is the vintage sweet,
'T is cold, as our hearts are growing,
And dark, as the doom we meet.
But stand to your glasses, steady,
And soon shall our pulses rise;
Here's a cup to the dead already—
Hurrah! for the next that dies.

W. F. Thompson was the brother-in-law of Miss Emma Roberts whose prose and verse were well known in Calcutta about the year 1840.

Known to all these authors was the famous David Lester Richardson, the compiler of the first anthology of Anglo-Indian poetry. He is remembered chiefly by his poem on David Hare, one of the founders of the Hindu College, by his translations of the Khoond war lyrics, and by lively Masonic songs. He lived long enough to belong to the group of authors that included such scholarly translators as Waterfield and Griffith, whose work stimulated Sir Edwin Arnold, in his brief sojourn in India from 1856 to 1861, to continue throughout his busy life as a journalist in London, the studies that have established his fame. But with the author of *The Light of Asia*, our brief account of the poets of old Calcutta must end. Arnold knew nothing of Bengal, and he brought to his work an enthusiasm

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and a scholarship that were never local in their range, but included the whole of Buddhist and Hindu Asia.

The Poets of old Calcutta are still unread. This fate they deserved. The early enthusiasm of Jones and Leyden died with their own death; and the example they set of a high and noble seriousness could not be followed in the conditions of Anglo-Indian life in the first half of the nineteenth century. Poetry came to serve the less austere purposes of burlesque description, and portrayal of an alien way of life. Of this much may be read with pleasure; and it is one purpose of *Bengal, Past and Present* to preserve such verse in so far as it throws light upon a British India that has become almost a province of the antiquary.

T. O. D DUNN.

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Appendix.

FROM "THE GANGES" BY HORACE HAYMAN WILSON.

Grave in the tide the Brahman stands,
And folds his cord, or twirls his hands,
And tells his beads, and all unheard
Mutters a solemn mystic word.
With reverence the Sudra dips,
And fervently the current sips,
That to his humbler hopes conveys
A future life of happier days.
But chief do India's simple daughters
Assemble in these hallowed waters,
With vase of classic model laden,
Like Grecian girl or Tuscan maiden,
Collecting thus their urns to fill
From gushing fount or trickling rill;
And still with pious fervour they
To Ganga veneration pay,
And with pretenceless rite prefer
The wishes of their hearts to her.
The maid or matron, as she throws
Champac or lotus, bel or rose,
Or sends the quivering light afloat
In shallow cup or paper boat,
Prays for a parent's peace and wealth,
Prays for a child's success and health,
For a fond husband breathes a prayer.
For progeny their loves to share,
For what of good on earth is given
To lowly life, or hoped in heaven.

But thine own honours fairest show
Where Bhagirathi's waters flow
In many a rich and lovely scene,
Invested with unfading green,
That as revolving seasons run
Still bids defiance to the Sun,
Upon the margin of the river

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The leafy grove is verdant ever ;
Dark is the Mango's foliage spread ;
Erect the tall Palm lifts its head ;
Broad the Banana waves and bright ;
Graceful the Bambu bends and light ;
Boiling and black the billows flow
The wide spread Indian fig below
Whose scion branches, many and vast,
Far from the mighty parent cast,
Above the wave extend their shade
In columned arch and long arcade,
And here, by native faith revered,
The Peepul's twisted trunk is reared.
Nor want we animation—rife
Is all around, with busy life.
Upon the bosom of the tide
Vessels of every fabric ride,
The fisher's skiff, the light canoe
That from a single trunk they hew ;
The snake and peacock modelled boat
In Eastern pageant sent afloat ;
The heavy barge—the ponderous bark
Huge lumbering like another ark.
The Bujra broad, the Bholia trim,
Or Pinnaces that gallant swim
With favouring breeze—or dull and slow
Against the heady current go ;
Creeping along the bank where pace
The crew—a strange amphibious race,
From morn to eve who never tire,
Plodding through bush, and brake, and briar :
Now wading mid-deep in the mud,
Now plunging breast-high in the flood ;
Yet as they move, the merry laugh,
And frequent frolic, lighten half
Their labour, till the day expires,
When gleam along the shore the fires
With which contented they prepare,
Their single meal of frugal fare :
Then to repose, at dawn again
To brave the sun, and wind, and rain.

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Close to the marge the cattle browse,
Or trail the rudely fashioned ploughs,
The buffalo, his sides to cool,
Stands buried in the marshy pool,
The wild duck nestles in the sedge,
The crane stands patient on the edge,
Watching to seize its finny prey;
Whilst high the skylark wings its way,
And in the shadow of a cloud,
Warbles its song—distinct and loud,
Though far removed from human eye,
The songster sails the upper sky.
Scattered across the teeming plain
In groups the peasants glean the grain,
The sickle ply, or wield the hoe,
Or seed for future harvests sow.
Some burthened with their homely ware
Journey to village Hat or fair,
And some suspend their toils to mark
Inquisitive the passing bark.
But most where to the river leads,
The Ghat, or beaten path proceeds,
A never-ending train collects
Of every caste, and age, and sex.

FROM "BOLE PONJIS" (HENRY MEREDITH PARKER, 1796-1868).

A FEW LINES IN HONOUR OF THE LATE MR. SIMMS, SENIOR ASSISTANT TO MESSRS. SHERINGHAM, LEITH, BADGERY, AND HAY.

I.

Who did not know that Office Jaun of pale Pomona green,
With its drab and yellow lining, and picked out black between,
Which down the Esplanade did go at the ninth hour of the day?
We ne'er shall see it thus again,—Alas! and well-a-day!

II.

With its bright brass patent axles, and its little hog-maned tatts,
And its ever jetty harness, which was always made by Watts,
The harness black and silver, and the ponies of dark grey,
And shall we never see it more,—Alas! and well-a-day!

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III.

With its very tidy coachman with a very old grey beard,
And its pair of neat clad sayces, on whom no spot appeared,
Nót sitting lazily behind, but running all the way
By Mr. Simms's little coach-Alas! and well-a-day!

IV.

And when he reached the counting house he got out at the door,
And entering the office made just three bows and no more,
Then passing through the clerks he smiled, a sweet smile and a gay,
And kindly spoke the younger ones-Alas, and well-a-day!

V.

And all did love to see him with his jacket rather long,
It was the way they wore them when good Mr. Simms was young,
With his Nankeen breeches buckled by two gold buckles alway,
And his China tight silk stockings, pink and shiny, well-a day!

VI.

With his little frill like crisped snow, his waistcoat spotless white,
His cravat very narrow and a very little tight,
And a blue brooch, where, in diamond sparks, a ship at anchór lay,
The gift of Mr. Cruttenden-Alas, and well-a-day!

VII.

Then from the press where it abode, he took the ledger stout,
And looked upon it reverently, withinside and without,
Then placed his pencils, rubber, pens and knives in due array,
And Mr. Simms was ready for the business of the day,

VIII.

And ever to the junior clerks his counsel it was wise,
That they shall loop their l's, and cross their t's, and dot their i's,
And honor Messrs. Sheringham, Leith, Badgery and Hay,
Whom he had served for forty years—Alas, and well-a-day!

IX.

And a very pleasant running hand good Mr. Simms did write,
His up-strokes were like gossamer, his down strokes black as night,
And his lines all clear and sparkling like a rivulet in May,
Meandered o'er the folios—Alas, and well-a-day!

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X.

And daily in a silver dish, as bright as bright could be,
At one o'clock his tiffin came, two sandwiches. or three,
It never came a minute soon, nor a minute did delay,
So punctual were good Mr. Simms's people—well-a-day!

XI.

And in the Mangoe season still a daily basket came,
With fruits as green as emeralds or ruddier than flame;
By Mr. Simms the sort had been imported from Bombay
And sown and grown beneath his eye—Alas, and well-a-day.

XII.

And when his tiffin it was done, he took a pint precise
Of well cooled soda water, but it was not cooled with ice,
And a little ginger essence (Oxley's) Mr. Simms did say
It comforted his rheumatiz'—Alas, and well-a-day!

XIII.

Then on a Sunday after prayers, while waiting in the porch,
His talk was of the Bishop, and the vestry, and the Church;
And two or three select young men would dine with him that day
To taste his old Madeira, and his curry called Malay.

XIV.

For famous was the table that good Mr. Simms did keep
With his home fed ducks, his Madras fowls, and gram fed Patna sheep,
And the fruits from his own garden, and the dried fish from the Bay
Sent up by bold Branch Pilot Stout—Alas, and well-a-day!

XV.

And he was full of anecdote, and spiced his prime Pale Ale
With many a cheerful bit of talk, and many a curious tale,
How Dexter ate his buttons off, and in a one horse chay
My Lord Cornwallis drove about—Alas, and well-a-day!

XVI.

And every Doorga Poojah would good Mr. Simms explore
The famous river Hoogly up as high as Barrackpore,
And visit the Menagerie, and in his pleasant way,
Declare that all the bears were bores—Alas! and well-a-day!

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XVII.

Then, if the weather it was fine, to Chinsura he'd go,
With his nieces three in a Pinnace, and a smart young man or so,
In Bright blue coats, and waistcoats, which were sparkling as the day,
And curly hair, and white kid gloves, a lover like array !

XVIII.

And at Chinsura, they walked about and then they went to tea,
With the antient merchant Van der Zank, and the widow Van der Zee,
They were old friends of Mr. Simms, and parting he would say,
" Perchance we ne'er may meet again."—Alas, and well-a-day !

XIX.

At length the hour did come for him, which surely comes for all,
From the beggar in his hovel to the monarch in his hall,
And when it came to Mr. Simms, he gently pass'd away
As falling into pleasant sleep—Alas, and well-a-day !

XX.

And on his face there lingered still a sweet smile and a bland,
His Bible lying by his side, and some roses in his hand ;
His spectacles still marked the place where he had read that day
The words of faith and hope which cheered his spirit on its way.

XXI.

And many were the weeping friends who followed him next night,
In many mourning coaches, found by Solitude and Kyte,
And many a circle still laments the good, the kind, the gay,
The hospitable Mr. Simms—Alas, and well-a-day !

THE ADJUTANT.*

A BENGAL ECLOGUE.

I.

Leave me, my friend—for now they suit right well
The hour—the gloomy scene—and mine own mood
The rain will not return—too late it fell,
Besides I've a great coat—don't think me rude
But all revoir—you dine out too—'tis late
And the Fitz-Huggenses, you know, don't wait.

* This has no allusion to any gentleman of the Regimental Staff, who prepares aspiring heroes for the field of Mars, but to thnt venerable, sad, not to say austere, bird, which ornaments in so remarkable a manner, the house tops and monuments of Calcutta. The *Arden dubia* or Gigantic Heron of Bengal—H. M. R.

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II.

Pat, pat—how that mare steps out with the buggy;
Charles is a judge of horses—so a'nt I.
Whew! what a night—now damp and chill, now muggy,
And what a scene around and what a sky,
As if sad nature wove a funeral pall
For one of her worst handyworks—Bengal.

III.

Slime of a tainted river on whose crest
The festering corses cluster—but I wont
Quite anathematize my place of rest;
There may be worse, though where, God knows, I don't.
Lyon quotes Murzouk's horrors, Denham, Shary's,
But then they never passed the James and Mary's.

IV.

At all events 'tis bad enough for me;
And so, with some one, "hail ye horrors, hail."
Far to the right dark looms the fatal tree,
Full in the front the Hospital, and Jail;
A funeral dimly winds along the road,
As usual, there's the Cholera abroad.

V.

Silent and dark it passed—'t is out of sight:
And now I stand indeed in solitude,
While round me gathers the quick falling night
And the damp breeze comes fitful—thus he stood,
Faust, in the lone wood meditating evil,
I wonder if one *could* now raise the devil.

VI.

'T is just the time and very place to try,
For though not midnight there's as black a shade
In the wild air. The storm-clouds roll on high
Broken and toss'd; as if dark spirits sway'd
Their fragments to and fro, while low and deep
The thunders mutter: "Lo! we do not sleep:"

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VII.

But the forked lightning in his cloudy cave
Rests like an unroused snake—the flash would be
Unsuited to the scene as 't would to have
In charnel vaults the ball lamp's brilliancy.
No—tears alone should come from such sad skies
In slow great drops, like those from sullen eyes.

VIII.

Even as I speak—the driving rain descends,
Not in a gentle sentimental shower,
But one that drenches to the finger ends
In less than half the tenth part of an hour,
Roaring and hissing as it falls—in fact
A specimen of "Heaven born" cataract.

IX.

And as it rattles down a mist arises
From out the hot breast of the batter'd ground,
Hiding the "Palaces" of sorts and sizes
That spread in whitewash'd majesty around;
Hiding the city lights, the dome, the fort;
All that is more than three yards off, in short,

X.

And just within the distance, I behold,
A figure grizzled and austere, like Time,
Save that 't is twice as grim, and twice as old,
A creature that must sure have seen the prime
Of the fresh, beautiful earth—and after that
Left Noah's Ark ashore on Ararat.

XI.

It hath a solemn, sober, staid demeanour,
Like the head usher on a flogging day,
Two glassy eyes, that have no more of keen or
Living glances, than two balls of clay;
And legs like wither'd reeds; long, white and small,
Fit for the very Genius of Bengal.

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XII.

The Genius of Bengal!—perhaps *'tis* he
Tasting the pleasures of an Eastern eve,
Which no one seems to taste but him and me;
At all events 'tis pleasant to deceive
One's fancy; and I'll try now if I cant'
Behold *that* Genius in *this* Adjutant.

XIII.

Yes—there are wings—those sombre dripping wings
Down which the rain in heavy globules rolls
Sure, if he opens them their winnowings
Will fan the life from very many souls,
For underneath their dismal folds *must* nestle
Plagues that defy the mortar and the pestle.

XIV.

And there's skull-like head on which a crown
Dim, grey, and shadowy, such as death might wear,
Sits lightly—'tis not the pale plumy down
Stirred by the wind, though such it doth appear,
But the rank steam of many a fierce disease
Condensed by the chill breath of this damp breeze.

XV.

There too's an eye, whose leaden look is fraught
With the drear torpor which in this blest land
Thickens the fever'd blood, dulls sense and thought,
Deadens the heart, and shakes the clammy hand;
Pah! that one look's enough—it makes me feel
That I lack tonics—port, quinine, and steel.

XVI.

Behold again that callous maw, whose gape
Is like the yawning of an antient tomb;
In vain his sallow subjects to the Cape
Or Sydney fly—they cannot fly the doom
Those jaws denounce, whose clangings seem for ever
To smack of ague, liver, spleen and fever.

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XVII.

Yes, such *must* be the Genius of the land;
We all have seen him through the twilight dim
On some tall sepulchre assume his stand,
Silent and motionless, and grey and grim,
As if in gloomy joy he brcoded o'er
Those who had come to perish on his shore.

XVIII.

The conquerors of nations—those who swayed
The destinies of monarchs—and the wise,
Who guided to its aim the hero's blade,
Are dust beneath his feet: and those who rise
Beautiful in our dreams—the loved—the fair—
Could he not spare them?—no! they moulder there.

XIX.

Rajahs and Sultans, whose dark flashing eyes
Beheld your jewell'd turbans spoil'd and riven,
And called for vengeance to your native skies,
Too well are ye avenged—that burning heaven
Pours pestilence on the pale victor's crest
Smiting the strength and flower of the West.

XX.

Oh home—my home—why do your shadows rise
To my sad mind in such a dreary, scene,
Would that I could forget thy cheerful skies,
Or what I am, or what I might have been;
Poor—but with calves—more humble but less yellow,
With more digestion—if with less to swallow.

XXI.

Oh home—my home—in that one little word
How many sweet connections are entwined:
The morning carol of the soaring bird,
The fragrant breathings of the evening wind
O'er summer meadows—bearing on its wings
The far-off stream's delicious murmurings.

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XXII.

Th' invigorating winter blast, the bay
Of the glad pack within the echoing wood:
Then the dear comforts of the close of day,
The fireside circle and the cheerful mood
Of hearts made light by health: and more than all
The feeling that we are not in Bengal.

XVIII.

"And what the Pestilence has brought you here?"
Methinks my grisly opposite replies;
If not in terms direct, yet with a queer
And question-asking glance of his dull eyes,
"I'm sure we do not want—could do without you,
And wish you at the devil"—devil doubt you.

XXIV.

But truly, as you say, what brought us here?
To leave our bones in your pestiferous clime,
Or after thirty years of wear and tear
With looks and forms, "one step from the sublime,"
To totter home,—with just enough perchance,
To buy a *tombeau* in the South of France.

XXV.

What brought us here? let the worn soldier speak,
The Captain of some twenty hot campaigns;
Or the o'erwrought Civilian—with a cheek
Of dusky hectic, burning hand, and brains
As wither'd as the hopes which breathe their last
Mostly ere Saugor Island's fairly past.

XXVI.

Saugor! fit portal to this land of death,
This Golgotha, this grave of broken hearts
And blighted prospects—let the fiery breath
Of thy rank jungle cast its fever darts
Upon young victims; let them cease to be
Ere they can curse the hour they looked on thee.

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XXVII.

Spare them the exile's weariness of soul
That deepens as life passes—the sad days
That onward with unvarying dullness roll
Each heavier than the last; and they would praise,
If they knew all the mercy of the doom
Which takes a few dark years—and gives a tomb.

XXVIII.

Spare them from lingering here—and oh' still more
Spare them that desolate and sad return
Unto the half forgotten native shore
Where, while few greet them, they, alas! must mourn,
Mourn for the changed, the selfish, and the dead
Whom once they loved ere life's first sunshine fled.

XXIX.

Say I not sooth, thou dull and dingy thing,
Genius, Argeelah, adjutant whate'er
Name thou affectest most?—conld I not sing
Of wretchedness as plenteous as the air
The burning air we breathe?—but I'll not grumble
Though all our hopes each day become more humble.

XXX.

No—rather now that thou and I together
Are standing by the side of this lone swamp,
Thy smiling home perhaps, and that the weather
Is tolerably cool, though somewhat damp,
Just fit for conversational enjoyments,
Would ask you of your past life and employments.

XXXI.

I've mentioned my opinion of your age,
So, without loss of time, we pass that over;
No doubt you saw King Sundraka, the Sage,
Write of Vansantaséná and her lover;
But pass that too-and above all don't bore us
With tales of Alexander and king Porus.

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XXXII.

Though thou didst stand by Attock, and beheld
Greek armour glancing in the Indian sun,
Helmet, and crest, and spear, and bossy shield,
Like a bright winding river on the dun
And restless desert—while the air around
Shook with the Macedonian trumpet's sound.

XXXIII.

Ha!—one plumed warrior plunges in the stream,
His horse paws up a cloud of glittering spray,
His broad short sword is flashing like a beam
Of sunshine on a cataract—the array
Wheels round him in a flaming curve—' tis he!
Olympias' son—the Lord of victory!

XXXIV.

Glory and Gore—a dazzling ghastly mist
Forming the fiery halo round his name
His banners never but by triumph kissed,
The Empires that were counters in his game,
Make the bright bloody jumble which we ponder
In musing o'er the life of Alexander.

XXXV.

Yes, there he stands, who to his golden car
Chained fortune—scanning with his eagle glances
The iron files of Macedonia's war,
Veterans as tough and fearless as their lances,
And ready right or wrong to have a fling
At good King Porus, here called Bulwant Sing.

XXXVI.

Doubtless, oh Adjutant! thou sawest this,
And also Genghiz Khan, and Timoor Beg
And the stern Lord of Ghizni; he whose bliss
Was breaking Shiva's head, or Indra's leg;
But turn to greater heroes—chief of which is
A paunchy looking man with crimson breeches

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XXXVII.

As Zoffany has painted*—by his side
Stands Jaffier Ally Cawn; to whom you know
The British warrior, with a modest pride,
Is lending half a sovereignty or so.
Jaffier looks blandly, with a smile paternal,
But nathless wishes Satan had the Colonel.

XXVIII.

The Colonel!—a Napoleon in his sphere,
Grasping as brave, unscrupulous as wise;
A kind of legal, regal buccaneer,
Who treated empires like a Spanish prize;
Took, spoiled, broke into fragments; but alive
Or dead, few mate with that same Colonel Clive.

XXXIX.

So hasten, tell me, for my soul's on fire
Thinking of those great days of glorious strife,
When Gunga's hollow banks rang with that lyre
And shell of Britain, called the drum and fife;
Did'st thou behold those heroes who of yore
Batter'd Budge Budge, and took Chandanagore?

XL.

Immortal men!—were not their glorious brows
With laurels, powder and pomatum cover'd,
Besides gold laced cock'd hats; with many rows
Of curls that shook not, though above them hover'd
The wings of Victory? whose first rich fruits
Were shared by folks with tie wigs and jack boots.

XLI.

Men who prepared ambrosial Sangaree,
And double Sangaree or Sangarorum;
Now took a fleet, now sold a pound of tea,
Weighed soap, storm'd forts, held princes *in terrorem*,
Drank, fought, smoked, lied, went home, and, good papas,
Gave diamonds to their little boys for taws.

* An obvious anachronism. Clive died in 1774 and Zoffany came to India in 1783.

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XLII.

Happy those times, my Adjutant, when "Chiefs"
Ruled provinces for four half crowns per day,
Yet prospered somehow, even as the sheaves
Which dreaming Pharoah saw.—Fat kine were they,
We are the lean—nor were their gleanings less
Through any freedom of the Indian Press.

XLIII.

Ah why was I not born in those blest days,
Truly the Golden Age of such as came
To live on brandy punch and dare the blaze
Of our Bengally sunshine—tis a shame
That all the golden hues which shine in this age
Shine less upon the pocket than the visage.

XLIV.

Ha! dost thou answer! no, it is the sigh
Of a more drear and melancholy blast,
On dusky wings a wilder storm draws nigh,
And from its lair the thunder wakes at last,
A danker mist thicks the dull air of night
And shuts my gaunt companion from my sight.

XLV.

But first, one rattle of that bony beak
Rings like a bell funereal through the air,
Saying, as plain as ominous sound can speak,
"Thou curious fool, of thine own doom beware,
Perchance the next grey tomb I make my throne,
If thou stands't chattering here—may be *thine own*."

CALCUTTA LIFE IN 1821.

(FROM "SHIGRAMPO.")

"Dear Father, before I on board of Ship budge,
"I address you for once, in the style of friend *Fudge*,
"You know my dear Parent, how oft you and I,
"Talk'd in praise of Bengal, ere I wish'd you good bye,

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"Of the riches, and rank, which were sure to accrue
"To those, who it's glittering paths shou'd pursue;
"No more on such faithless description depend,
" 'Tis a fudge I've found out, from beginning to end!
"What share of it's riches, what rank have I gain'd,
"Tho' the total destruction of health I've sustain'd?
"I'm a Captain forsooth, with a brevet Commission,
"After fifteen long years, what an envied condition!
"And now quite as poor, as the day I set out,
"I may boast of my rapid advancement no doubt,
"I mean as to age,—as to what people call
"Advancement in prospects, I've gain'd none at all!
"And now quite done up, I'm about to repair
"My poor battered Carcase, by dint of Sea air,
"If I do not succeed, in reward for my deeds,
"I'll be sent to sojourn, with the brave Invalids,
"And there be stuck up, on the rock of Chunar,
"To forget my poor Country and banish my care!
"But rather than take this asylum benign,
"I intend if allowed, on half pay to resign,
"To receive during life, so the knowing ones say,
"Forty-five pounds a year, half a Subaltern's pay!
"Oh! think what magnificent pay that appears,
"After basking in Sun-shine, for so many years,
"I suspect that the Clerk of the Parish will be,
"When he hears of my income, quite jealous of me,
"And petition the Parson, to have his encreased,
"That he may 'nt be out done, by the Captain at least.
"I had hoped, when I set out, for famed Hindostan,
"To return and set up, for a Parliament Man,
"For you know I was always, much giv'n to speaking,
"And an M.P. was what, I was always for seeking,
"But I doubt if my pension, wou'd manage to buy,
"An old Rotten Borough, between you and I'.
" 'Tis a hundred to one, if all plans shou'd prove vain,
"That your Son will return, to the Tea line again,
"Altho' when a Man has once been to Parade,
"He's not much adapted for business or Trade.
"Whilst an Officer, would in no little degree
"Feel abash'd, to be forced to stand serving out tea!
"for he gains such strange notions of honor, Dear Father,

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"That tho' starvingly poor, he would often much rather
"His Stomach shou'd growl, and grow thin as a wafer,
"Than quit the War trade, for a Grocer's tho' safer!
"You expect I am sure, whilst my sorrows I utter,
"That I write some few hints, about charming Calcutta.
"It is without doubt, a magnificent spot,
"Both charmingly sickly, and charmingly hot!
"'Tis the city of Palaces, long since so nam'd,
"And for very large Mansions, most justly is famed,
"But (though your rich folks, in their Palaces stay,)
"They 're as hot as an oven, by night and by day,
"With little more aid, than a Punkha's vibration,
"To give their lungs play and keep up animation!
"Besides these great Houses of four stories high,
"Require no small incomes, to rent or to buy,
"So that none but Civilians, of high rank and station,
"Can afford such a price, for their great elevation!
"Unless some few Red Coats, with incomes so great,
"'Tis incumbent upon them, to keep up some state,
"'Twould be hard, when consid'ring the service they see,
"If they shared not the "otium cum dig-ni-ta-te"!
"For tho' they may live on the fat of the Land,
"Their health has hard struggles, with climate to stand,
"And many wou'd droop, with no chance to get well,
"But for "Guard La Rose", or more famed Carbonell!
"Which cheering their spirits, from toils undergone,
"Makes them strong and robust, for the desk the next Morn!
"These Mansions of bliss, to extend may be said,
"From the Ghaut at Chandpaul, down the whole Esplanade,
"Including the Court House, Town Hall, and besides
"The great house of all, where the Gov'nor resides.
"The first in the list is a Mansion we find,
"Where justice and mercy, are justly combin'd,
"Where Lawyers dispute, but on one point agree,
"And that is—the never refusing a fee!
"Here law's so prolific, disputes so unceasing!
"'Tis lucky that Lawyers are quickly encreasing,
"And 'tis but mere justice, that after their toils,
"They should be admitted to share in the spoils!
"Next, the Town Hall in turn, stands in splendid array,
"Tho' many supposed, 'twould fall down t'other day,

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" But confident grown, they by hundreds assemble,
" And dance till they make ev'ry board of it tremble !
" Convinc'd such reports, must have sprung from romance,
" They now cut their Capers, with true non-chalence
" And instead of forebodings, it's praise they loud sing,
" And exulting remark, what a charming nice spring !
" Tis a building that long will pre-eminence claim,
" And stand to commem' rate its architect's fame !
" 'Tis there, when they hold their famed conversationes,
" Ladies meet their admirers, and men meet their Cronies,
" But its name's misapplied by mistake, I've a notion,
" When their tongues remain silent, and feet are in motion !
" How kind it's projectors, who full of true pity,
" When forming this hop, for the use of the City,
" So wisely considered—how just it would be,
" To let all poor Officers,—come in scot free !
" Twas kind thus consulting their pleasure and ease,
" Who are paid their small pittance, in *Sonaut Rs.* !
" How pleasing to view them, all lay in a stock
" Of Mourghy and tongue, ere it strikes 12 o'clock,
" When that fatal hour once, on the bell is but beat,
" You may still go on eating, but pay what you eat ;
" And most men will doubtless, I mean no offence,
" Eat with far greater zest, when it's free of expence !
" Oh what would you give, could you get but a glance,
" At the famous Quadrilles, or the famed Spanish dance,
" So delighted to view such perfection you'd be,
" In doubt, if 'twere India, or far famed Paris !
" Such various steps, and such rapid transitions,
" Such infinite grace, and such graceful positions !
" Here Parisot's steps are compleatly surpass'd,
" Not only in slow time,—but also in fast !

* * *

" Here we've Bachelor's balls too, in spite of the fair,
" Who are anxious to soothe, both their sorrows and care,
" But careless of beauty, oh ; strange kind of will,
" Our Bachelor's swear, to be Bachelor's still ;
" But let them beware, for one glance may effect it,
" And they be ensnar'd, when the least they expect it,
" For many a man, who's determin'd to chase it,
" Poor fellow is often, the first to embrace it !

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" Then Clubs oft assemble, in commemoration,
" Of some great event, some of strange designation !
" Amongst them, the Lunatics, who modest elves,
" Have taken this Lunatic title themselves !
" They meet once a month, when the Moon's at it's full,
" With bumpers of Claret, their sorrows to lull,
" But I doubt much indeed, if the day of the feast,
" Of all lucid intervals, is not the least !
" How many there'd be at the Clulb to imbibe
" If all who are Lunatic, would but subscribe !
" Then oftentimes dinners are given we learn,
" When any great man, is inclined to return
" To his dear Native Country, intended they say,
" Like a passport of course, is to pave a man's way,
" Tis here that addresses—are argued upon,
" And carried as sure, as they meet there nem con,
" For who would appear such a Goth to oppose,
" Eulogiums on virtues, which all the world knows !
" And doubtless in England, where men of condition,
" Who come from the East, are receiv'd with suspicion,
" By many perhaps—disappointed in trade,
" Who think that their wealth is not honestly made,
" Tis as well that their friends, should most fully express,
" Their virtues and honesty !—in an address !
" To prove they've got characters, let it be known,
" At least of their friends, it they've none of their own !
" And oh what a place, it is oft for disputing,
" Some making assertions, and others refuting,
" Not far famed St. Stephen's, could ever outdo,
" The pithy debates,—that so often ensue !
" We have Vestry disputes, and good long ones they are,
" They beat all your Town Parish business by far,
" For months nothing else, did our papers relate,
" But anonymous views, of the Vestry debate !
" The outs wish'd to move the select from their place,
" But this was found out, to be no easy case,
" For the Inns firmly seated, with great pleasure saw,
" That possession had e'er been nine points of the law !
" For months many columns of each advertiser,
" Were fill'd with remarks, which made no one the wiser !
" Until they grew tired of disputes so absurd,

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" And the whole, to the wise heads at home, was referr'd.
" On Mondays and Tuesdays, men often times hie,
" To Campbell and Gould's, or to Tulloh's outcry,
" Where a man must look sharp, if he wishes to bid,
" Lest he wanting Barouche, buys a Dennet instead !
" There a man can be suited with all kind of steeds,
" With horses and tattoos, of all kinds of breeds,
" To those who're accustom'd to ride on the course,
" An Arab's considered the most showy horse,
" But surely no Dandy would venture good lack,
" To appear in so dashing a place on a hack !
" Rotton Row of a Sunday, ne'er made the display,
" Nor boasted the beauty, seen there ev'ry day !
" Where soon as it's sun-set, the Ladies resort,
" By Hygeian-gusts, their weak spirits support,
" In Chariots, Barouches, and Sociables too,
" All open of course, to ensure better view,
" Or what is more likely, and what my lines mean,
" They are open, that they may both see, and be seen !
" Here friends meet together, converse as they ride,
" And Gentlemen follow the Barouch's side,
" Who whilst they're inhaling the genial air,
" Are talking soft nonsense, besides to the Fair !
" Your great men too often, absorb'd in deep thought,
" Intent on the good for the service they've wrought,
" All silent proceed, without casting a glance,
" At the beauties which pass, or the horses that prance !
" And shou'd they perchance view a Passenger bow,
" As if to return it, they scarcely knew how,
" With vast condescension, they lower the tete
" Like a Mandarin Toy, that's stuck over a Grate !
" Which mode of saluting is aptly call'd now
" In the Circles of fashion, the Manadarin Bow !
" Lord A*t had soon made, a dozen such bends,
" If such nods of the head, would have gain'd him his ends.
" But, in China good luck, there the Mandarin touch,
" Makes a man kiss the ground, which is rather too much !
" Tis hard making men thus endanger their necks,
" Tis a barbarous mode this, of paying respects !
" The next mode of Cutting, which I shall select,
" Is the turn of the head, which is called cut direct,

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" This all must expect, who go there in all cases,
" Having friends, who are happily blest with two faces !
" But next I must give you, oh doleful affair,
" The worst of all cuts, called the cut Solitaire !
" Where your ci-devant friend, looks you right in the face,
" But can't recognize you, in that dashing place !
" He might condescend, at an Outcry to bow,
" But you ought to consider, he's on the Course now !
" When men rise to places their bowing is o'er,
" They can't be expected—to bow as before,
" Besides, 'tis more difficult—all must allow,
" To bow with Cock'd hat, then it is with chako !
" The former wou'd often times fall from the Crown,
" If the head was so frequently, moved up and down !
" But rise but yourself, you will quickly find out,
You'll have bowing and scrapin g, sufficient no doubt,
" Whilst those who were foremost, to cut you before,
" Will strive to make up for't, by bowing the more !
" Only think what strange customs are prevalent here,
" And one midst the rest, will most gloomy appear,
" Not a man can walk off, but a Card's circulated,
" In which both his age, and his death are narrated,
" With a kind intimation, to all that their friend
" Will be buried that day, with request to attend !
" Perhaps when in Palanqueen snugly you're lying
" To inhale the fresh Air, and thus keep you from dying,
" So weak that perhaps, you can scarce raise your head,
" And would much rather think of the living than dead,
" How much it must add, to the good of your ride,
" To have half a dozen such, thrown you inside
" How much a man's mind, and his nerves it must brace,
" To have such memento's stare right in his face !
" Assuring him too,—that perhaps bye and by,
" In the course of events, 't may be his turn to die,
" Here we boast like your City a useful Exchange,
Where mercantile people their dealings arrange,
Where many too make it their business to call,
To search out for news, who've no business at all !
A Club there assembles, at times 'twill appear,
To taste of the joys which accrue from good cheer ;
The Obscures they are call'd, tho' 'tis hard to define

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What obscurity means, when so public they dine !
Its Members however no doubt, we shall find,
Th' obscure, in their ways, are enlighten'd, in mind !
We have Newspapers too, as you have in the west,
Each Editor striving—to prove his the best,
With pages enough—for a Counsellor's brief,
Tho' some of them still, might turn o'er a new leaf !
- The *Journal*, *Gazette*, The *Hurkaru*, and *Post*.
The *India Gazette*, and the awful named *Ghost*,
The latter must doubtless, most patronage find,
For few men to give up the Ghost are inclin'd !
The columns of some, we peruse but with pain,
Perceiving the feuds, which they daily contain.
No paper appears, but produces new schism,
Or charges perhaps—of fresh radicalism !
Complaints of purloining, at least great ill breeding,
Although what is copied, may not be worth reading !

* * * * *

But what should we do, we'd be bad off indeed,
If we had not a paper—of some kind to read !
In London whole columns are soon fabricated,
And news fresh and fresh, ev'ry day is narrated,
But here when a Vessel arrives, we devour
The news of Six Months, in the space of an hour !

' Tis doubtlessly true, that we often may boast
Of occasional news from Bombay, or the Coast,
Of Gales and of Shipwrecks, too often we're told,
And the Nilgherry mountains, remarkably cold.
That excessive hot weather has left them again,
And the Monsoon set in, with abundance of rain !
Or News from Ceylon, which we long have been wishing,
That all the Head Quarters, are gone off pearl fishing !

Then China dispatches arrive in their turn,
When Mercantile Men, to their sorrow oft learn,
That the market with Cotton is heavy and full,
And the Sale of the opium—equally dull !
In fact that so terribly sluggish—is trade,
'Tis a bad speculation,—for nothing is made !
Where intercourse ceas'd, is restor'd by degrees,
Notwithstanding a Sailor has killed a Chinese.

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Or an Emperor dying, his Son having wrangled
About the succession, is instantly strangled!
Perhaps we get tidings straight from the Red Sea,
Of the El Khyma Pirate,—or famed Wahabie,
Of the former attacking, with myriads of Prows,
And of vessels escaping, but how, no one knows.
And then what delightful reports are contriv'd,
When dispatches from home, overland have arriv'd,
Whilst anxiously waiting,—in anticipation,
We settle exactly—the state of the Nation,
Make very great changes, and the measures ensue,
Which might be of use, if they really were true;
Turn Ministers out, for their imbecile measures,
Remove from their Thrones, a few Kings, at our leisures!
Or if failing in that,—make unfortunate elves
'Midst our great men at home, make away with themselves'
Soon the budget comes out, when we find to our sore,
'Tis exactly the same,—we heard six weeks before!

* * * * *

The customs of living, are strange in th' extreme,
And to you my dear Parent, will very odd seem:
Here they rise very late, and beginning to dress,
Are surrounded by slaves, for they can't do with less,
For the heat is so great, that unfortunate elves,
They've scarcely the pow'r, to accoutre themselves!
So languid and weak, they are frequently known,
To rise as fatigued, as at night they laid down!
Then the natives of India, to Cast do so cling,
You scarcely get two, to perform the same thing;
One puts on a stocking, one holds a Serie,
Another with Chillimchee, stands ready bye,
A third has a mirror, he brings to your view
A fourth fellow's tying the string of your shoe!
Or perhaps if undressing, a bearer's undoing
Your shoes or cravat, there's another champoeing
Your arms or your legs, whiche'er he may light on,
Like famed Dean Mahomed champoes you at Brighton!
Where friction and bathing such good have bestow'd,
And the Ladies by Mrs. D. M. are champoed!
So ably performing her business,—that she
In lieu of D. M. should be titled—M. D.

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And among learned men, it is well understood,
That champoeing excites circulation of blood,
Cures pains rheumatic, whilst the nervous and lame,
Are put on their legs, and restored by the same!
Equipped, to the table they hie to partake
Of breakfast, by far the best meal that they make,
Then each his own business prepares to pursue,
But ere they proceed, smoke a Chillum or two;
And smoking no doubt, since the custom began,
Proves a charming excuse for an uninform'd man,
Who listens to others,—improves by the same,
And silent himself, makes his pipe bear the blame!
Civilians set out, in great style to Adawlat,
The Sudder Dewanee, I shou'd indeed call it,
T' examine with Justice, with patience and zeal,
The various decisions of Courts of Appeal,
Whilst some to Cutcherry, or College sojourn,
The law of the Country, or Language to learn!
The Agent in turn, next resorts at his ease,
To his office, to sum up whole lacs of rupees,
And share of them too, for some agents there are,
Receiving each year, a full lack to their share!
Then the year's rate of interest, wisely they fix,
Receive twelve per Cent. give Constituents six!
No wonder that men are inclin'd, when they hear,
The profits they make, so enormous each year,
To partake of such fortune, and frankly avow,
That agency's better,—than kuddum outou!
But where will you find, tho' such fortunes are made,
Such liberal feeling so amply display'd,
For many a man, would have dropp'd, and have died,
Had it not been for aid, they so timely supplied!
Then Lawyers in Term time, set out to dispute
On a difficult Law point, or some great Law Suit,
'Twixt Gopey Takoor, and perhaps Mohun Doss,
Who pay for disputing enough to their loss,
Discov'ring at last, tho' too late, foolish elves,
They'd settled the matter, much cheaper themselves!
Next the Ladies depart, morning visits to pay,
And examine G's famous long room, in their way,
Perhaps order home, at their husband's expence,

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Some few trifling samples of furniture thence,
Or Tea Sets of Dresden, or Porcelain ware,
The higher the price, the more unic or rare;
Then next to a Jeweller's Shop they may roam,
For purchasing joys, they cannot get at home,
Such as trinkets or watches, till husbands grow sick,
And prevent both the watches and wives going tick!
The tiffin hour near, to their home they return,
When the poor doating husband. is soon made to learn,
That his wife has contrived, in the course of one day,
T' expend some few hundreds, perhaps a month's pay!
And perhaps of the party, by chance there may be
Some "en passant" friends, who ne'er tiff au logis!
Aware their Madeira, with Loll Shrob and Chingree!
Are not half so good, as they get at Chowringhee!
And surely that man should be dubb'd as a fool,
Who'd drink hot Madeira, when he cou'd get cool!
The Meal being finished, the fair ones retire,
And on Sofas reclin'd, find that rest they require,
Where reading a Novel, 'neath Punkah they doze,
Till scarecly they know, if its verse or its prose!
Whilst over and over—the Volume they trace,
Till dozing so oft—and oft losing their place,
The book is condemn'd as a samish production,
As void of amusement, as well as instruction!
Perhaps it may happen that Baxter's Call'd in,
To extract some extraneous hairs from the chin,
Which dare to intrude, and are rivelling there,
Forgetting that beards, are not worn by the fair!
Or to prune auburn locks, even false ones supply,
And encrease thus th' attractive effects of the eye?
And who would not envy, forgive the digression,
Such pleasant employment, delightful profession?
To boast the first beauties we have, in his books,
And boast what is more, the improving their looks!
Baxter's art and most justly, in verse and in prose,
Has been oft celebrated, as all the world knows!
For many a man—had ne'er smitten the fair,
Had Baxter's chaste hand, not adjusted his hair!
The Carriage soon ready, more dead than alive,
To inhale cooler air, to the Course they now drive,

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When Master's the whip, for of late years we find,
He dickey's the Coachman who travels behind !
Thus laughing at customs from long days of yore,
And sitting where Masters have ne'er done before !
Return'd, to the Toilette the Ladies resort,
And dress out as fine, as though going to Court,
When joining the Banquet, and seated in rows,
They dazzle the eyes of the dandies, and beaus,
For beauties collected, may truly be stated,
To strike like the rays of the Sun, when dilated !
When dinners announc'd, Oh ! unhappy the fair,
Who may not be escorted, in style to her chair,
With hands both engag'd, two Seniors beside her,
For claims of precedence, cannot be denied her !
Dinner over, to Drawing room soon they away,
To imbibe their Souchong, or their Cafe au lait,
Unless it should happen as sometimes is the case,
The Senior by rank, will not budge from her place,
What fun then to see the rest tipping the wink,
As much as to say, " what will gentlemen think ?
The party dispers'd, sable night intervenes,
And closes the last, and the gayest of scenes ;
Madam wishes good night, to her chara, who too
When he sets off for bed, stammers out an dieu !

Our Races are good, and our Sportsmen agree,
Would be better, if fogs would permit us to see !
But so thick of a morning, those vapours prevail,
That you can't tell the head of a horse, from his tail !
And many a man on the Turf lives to rue it,
And curses his stars, that he cou'd not see thro' it'.
Our Concerts boast Singers of no small renown,
Who kindly came out, to enliven the town,
Supposing an Indian ne'er heard in his life,
Any music at all, save the drum and the fife !
Believing they deem'd ev'ry other note trash,
Save that which a man cou'd convert into cash !
So wisely determin'd their own, not to waste,
Till they measured exactly our musical taste !
By which they determin'd, with justice and reason,
Eight Concerts sufficient, at least for a season !

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Resolving each year, they wou'd give as a favor
The flats of the town, an additional quaver!
But how can we hope that there'll harmony be,
When even the Singers themselves, don't agree!
Still he must be a stone, who could not sit for hours,
And delight in the charms of such musical pow'rs;
Such as * * * * and * * * * and others display
Deserving much better than my humble lay!
Here Amateurs offer their services gratis,
And perform in the comic, as well as seriatis!
But let's not complain, or reject such a boon,
Because now and then, they perform out of tune!
But now my dear father, 'tis full time to close,
This very long letter, or you may suppose
That having commenc'd, that I never intend,
To bring my remarks on our town to an end,
Adieu then dear Parent, and long live to know,
That I'm always your dutiful son SHIGRAM PO!

THE STUDIO OF GEORGE CHINNERY.

FROM "TOM RAW, THE GRIFFIN."

(By Sir Charles D'Oyly Bart.)

"You have not been at Ch-n-y's, I think?"
Said Randy to his friend, one afternoon.
"No," replied Tom, "that is a wanting link
"In my career, which I must add, and soon."
"Well then" cried Randy, "I will grant the boon
"Of shewing you to this most skilled of painters:
"You'll be delighted with him—if in tune;
"He's always in his shop, and will not stint us
"In hearty welcomes, as his lungs will soon acquaint us."

In Garstin's Buildings, opposite the church,
Formed of the overplus of Town Hall brick,
And just behind the houses of John B—ch,
Up a vile lane whose odour makes one sick
Resides this famous limner—never stick
At vain preliminaries of rapping knockers,
To see if he's at home—go in, and kick
The peons, that, slumbering on the stair-case, look as
(But yet they are not) barriers in your way. Odd zookers!

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GEORGE CHINNERY IN HIS STUDIO.
(A Sketch by Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bart. From "Tom Raw, Griffin.")

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Laugh as you please, till in his atelier
You see the ablest limner in the land,
With mild and gentle look inviting near,
Palette on thumb and maplestick in hand,
And saying, "Sirs—What may be your command?"
"We would not interrupt you!—Mr. Raw!"
"Your most obedient—Do I understand
"Your friend desires to sit?—Pray, does he draw?
"'Tis a great art—and always practised with a claw! (eclat)

But, as the sitting to a painter's irksome
We'd rather seize upon the opportunity
To roam about his room, and try to work some
More animating sport for our community,
For spice of former dulness some immunity;
It is an olio, certainly, of oddities,
And we ought, long ere now, to have shewn it to' ye,
Passing the furniture, and such commodities,
To have such useful things—the due of every body 'tis.

Imprimis, o'er the walls are charcoal dashings
Of sudden thoughts—or imitative keys
Hung on a nail—and various coloured splashings—
The shape of frames, of houses, horses, trees,
Prismatic circles—five dot effigies,
Notes of short hand—a card for five o'clock,
"Lord M. desires the honour of Mr. C's
"Company,"—in conspicuous station stuck,
To shew the deference paid his talent—or his luck!

Close to the window is a drawing table
Where, erst, in miniatures engaged, he toiled,
And near a chair and hookah, when he 's able
To contemplate the canvass he has oiled:
In this enjoyment were he ever foiled,
Adieu to talent.—'T is his next great pleasure
To painting, he has often said,—(and smiled),
The sitting over,—to devote his leisure,
In smoky meditation o'er his new wrought treasure.

A teapoy groaning with odd tomes and scraps
Of undigested journals, stands behind,

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Sketch books, surmounted by his flannel caps,
Loose prints, and notes,—some very far from kind,
With pretty little chits from dames that wind
Him round their finger—lawyers' letters, dunning,
For clients, most solicitous to grind,
And drafts of letters—full of wit and punning,
And house accounts that still keep on for ever running.

In one damp corner—stewed without refection,
Because 't is never wanted—pines a Vatican,
And, of the finest plates, a rare collection.—
(Can he so thoughtless be? —ay, can he? —that he can!
And, when I tell you plainly—you 'll see what he can
Neglect),—they 're mostly borrowed from collectors,
And buried in this motley graphic catacomb,
Eaten by rats and white ants—no respecters
Of Raphael, Titian, Rubens,—Ajaxes and Hectors.

What lovely face is that which hangs among
Th' unfinished pictures—in a faded frame?—
Oh! we could gaze, nor think that gazing wrong,
Though rumour has been busy with her fame:
Romney portrayed those matchless charms—a name
That next to Reynolds sparkles in the art,
Whose sweetness merits that superior claim,
Which meretricious glare can ne'er impart,
Driving his matchless colour brush right through the heart.

And we have seen Sir Joshua there—a gem
Or two, within this store-room of bijoux,
The artist on his knees, adorning them,
And swallowing greedily his tints and hues—
Then starting back—then forward—loath to lose
A moment in the ardent meditation,
Then fancying that he stood in his great shoes,
Tracing between them great assimilation,
Except his knighthood merely, and—his reputation.

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Letters of Sir Edward Paget.

AMONG the pictures in the collection presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1834 by Brigadier and Colonel Home, is a half length portrait of the Hon'ble Sir Edward Paget, G. C. B., Commander-in-Chief in India from 1823 to 1825. The picture is thus described by the late Dr. C. R. Wilson in his catalogue, (Calcutta, 1897).

"Sir Edward wears a red military coat having black facings ornamented with gold, and a black stock. Round his neck is a double string of pearls, from which is suspended a medallion set in a double row of diamonds with the portrait of a native potentate. The ribbon and star of the order of the Bath are conspicuous on his breast, and he also wears another star and two medals. His right sleeve is pinned up, showing that he has lost his right arm. The head is slightly bald: the hair and whiskers are dark brown.

"The portrait was painted by Robert Home: and Bishop Heber is apparently referring to it, when he records in his diary in October 1824 that 'He (Home) has made a portrait of Sir E. Paget, which he could not help making a resemblance.'"

Sir Edward Paget (1775—1849) was the fourth son of the ninth Baron Paget, who was created Earl of Uxbridge in 1784. The eldest son (born in 1768) succeeded as Earl of Uxbridge in 1812, lost a leg at Waterloo and was created Marquess of Anglesey, and a Knight of the Garter. He was a Field Marshal and twice acted as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: he died in 1854. The second son William (1769-1795) was a Captain in the Royal Navy. The third, the Right Hon'ble Sir Arthur Paget (1771—1840) was Ambassador at Vienna. The fifth, Sir Charles (1778), was a Vice-Admiral in the Navy and died of fever at Bermuda in 1839. The sixth and youngest, Berkeley, served in the Peninsular war and subsequently became Commissioner of Excise.

With his brother, Lord Paget, Sir Edward also served in the Peninsular war. He was with Sir John Moore in the retreat to Corunna and was taken prisoner by the French in November, 1812, when with Lord Wellington, having previously been wounded at the passage of the Douro. He was released in April 1814 and became Commander-in-Chief in Ireland in 1819. Three years later he was appointed Governor of Ceylon, but only held that office for a few months. On June 2, 1822, he was nominated Commander-in-Chief in India, on a salary of £16,000 a year, and arrived in Calcutta on December 12 following. With Sir Samford Whittingham, his Adjutant-General (who was afterwards Commander-in-Chief at Madras), he was called

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upon in 1824 to deal with the mutiny at Barrackpore of the 47th and 67th Bengal Native Infantry who refused to embark for Burma. Paget marched two European regiments and some Artillery to the station during the night: paraded the 47th, the next morning and ordered them to lay down their arms. They disobeyed and the guns opened on them when they broke and fled. As it did not appear that the sepoys had contemplated active resistance, Paget was much blamed for resorting at once to extreme measures, but subsequent events seem to have justified him. Other events of his term of office were the first Burmese war and the commencement of the siege of Bhurtpore. On October 7, 1825, he resigned and was succeeded by Sir Stapleton Cotton (Lord Combermere). While in Calcutta he lived at Belvedere. On his return to England he was made Governor of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst and remained there from 1825 to 1836. From 1837 to 1849 he was Governor of Chelsea Hospital, and died there on May 13 of the latter year.

Sir Edward Paget married as his second wife in 1815, Lady Harriet Legge, daughter of the Earl of Dartmouth: and his second son, the Rev. Edward Heneage Paget, married in 1856 Emma Mary Eden, daughter of the third Lord Auckland (Bishop of Bath and Wells) and niece therefore of the Governor-General and of Miss Emily Eden (1797-1869) whose "Sketches in India" are so famous. Their son, Mr. Henry Edward Clarence Paget, C. B. E. was Deputy Commissioner of Police in Calcutta from 1896 to 1903. He owns a copy of "The Letters and Memorials of the Hon'ble Sir Edward Paget," of which 50 copies were printed by Messrs. Bliss Sands & Co. in 1898. From that book the following extracts are taken.

CALCUTTA IN 1822.

To Lord Anglesey. Calcutta, 14th December, 1822.

We arrived here with all possible success on the 12th; a fortnight before we were expected, having been but four weeks between Colombo and the entrance of the Hooghly river, instead of six...We have found Lord and Lady Hastings here...He has, I believe, fixed on New Years Day for his departure...I shall let you know hereafter how upon trial we like Calcutta. At present I can only say that it is very grand, very magnificent, and, what you will not be prepared to hear, very cold. Every body assures me I shall like my post. If it proves the means of enabling me to look homewards a year or two sooner that I could otherwise have calculated upon, I shall bless the day upon which the appointment was conferred upon me. If it does not, I fear I shall be looking back to Ceylon where I had it all my own way...Here I fear, thanks to the liberty of the press, it is all pull devil, pull baker. I am at present occupying what anywhere else I should call

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a magnificent house, the Governor-General's residence in Fort William, (1)—which he has very kindly appropriated to my use, until I can suit myself with a better. The "Palace" where he resides, is in may respects most magnificient [*sic*], but strange to relate, the best staircase in it, and I believe the only one, is not much better than the back staircase at Uxbridge House.

To Lady Harriet Paget. Calcutta, 8th February 1823.

We reached Belvedere about two o'clock and I pronounce it to be a delightful residence...It is most cheerful, clean and gentleman like, and I would not change it for Government House...I have no tidings yet of my Chinnery acquaintance (2).

(1) Now the Outram Soldier's Institute. Occupied also by Lord Wellesley (while Government House was building) and by Bishop Heber

(2) George Chinnery first exhibited some crayon portraits at the Free Society in 1766 and some miniature portraits at the Royal Academy in 1791. In 1798 he was residing in Dublin and was much patronized by the Lansdowne family. He became a Member of the Royal Hibernian Academy, and in 1801 had six portraits and five landscapes at an exhibition held in the Parliament House at Dablin. At the end of 1802, or the beginning of 1803, he seems to have come out to Calcutta where he resided for more than twenty years and became a favourite painter with all classes, In Government House, Calcutta, there used to be [in days when the Viceroy resided there] a three quarter length portrait of the first Lord Minto by him and a full length portrait of Saadat Ali, Nawab Vizier of Oudh from 1798 to 1814. The authorship of the latter has, however, been ascribed to Home. The High Court possesses portraits by him of Sir Henry Russell (puisne judge, 1798–1806¾: Chief Justice, 1806-1813) and Sir Francis Workman Macnaghten (puisne judge at Fort St. George, 1807-1816, Fort William, 1816-1825). From India Chinnery removed to China where he must have lived for many years. In 1830 he sent from Canton to the Royal Academy two portraits, "Dr. Morrison engaged in translating the Bible into the Chinese language," and "The Portrait, of a Hong-Kong Merchant". His own portrait was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1846. He died at Macao about 1850.

Chinnery was an artist of versatile genius and great ability. His style is bright and animated and his colour pleasing. But he was unstable and eccentric. It is said that he could rarely be induced to finish his portraits. After having satisfied himself with the face, he turned to a new subject. When he left Calcutta, more than twenty of his portraits were sold unfinished. His earnings while in Calcutta are said to have amounted to Rs. 5,000 a month, but his prodigality was so great that he largely exceeded his income. [C. R. Wilson, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Catalogue 1897].

There is a half length portrait of Chinnery in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which is supposed to be painted by himself. It represents an oldish man with light ruffled hair and a somewhat self-assertive nose. His face is clean shaven. A pair of old fashioned spectacles is on his nose though which his light blue eyes look away to the right of the spectator with an eager ready glance. He wears a dark brown coat and a white shirt and cravat. A yellow curtain hangs behind him. Size 15 inches by 12. (Wilson, *Op. cit.*)

Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyat Coomar Tagore owns a number of pictures by Chinnery, who painted, among other portraits, that of Baboo Gopi Mohan Tagore (second son of Durpo Narayan, the banian of Edward Wheler, who succeeded Colonel Monson as Member of Council, and father of the Hon'ble Baboo Prosunno Coomar Tagore, C. S. I.) It is said that Indian gentlemen were at first uuwilling to sit to Chinnery, on the ground that the process would entail upon them a premature death. Gopi Mohan, although a rigid Hindoo, disregarded the advice of his friends,

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GEORGE CHINNERY.

To Lady Harriet Paget. Calcutta, 11th February, 1823.

Whenever Chinnery lets me have my darling group, I shall ask him to do something to the drapery of the miniature.

To Lady Harriet Paget. Calcutta, 15th February, 1823.

I have at length heard from Chinnery, (2) and he of his own accord offers to bring home the picture of my darling group on Wednesday next.

To Lady Harriet Paget. 20th February, 1823.

Upon my return from my drive yesterday, I found Mr. Chinnery in the act of hanging the picture of my beloved darlings.

May 1825.—I have just received a very pretty epistle from Lady D'Oyly (3) at Patna, accompanied by two boxes, one containing two native portraits on ivory, the other four oil coloured land-scapes or rather waterscapes from the pencil of Sir Charles and intended for the Lady Harriet.....They are views on the Ganges.....I should not be surprised if Chinnery were to add a few of his to this little collection, though he is so uncertain a fellow that I have no dependence upon his promises. He likes landscape painting a thousand to one better than portrait painting, except when he gets so fine a subject (tell that to Caroline) as me to study. Then he is quite inspired.

VISIT TO LUCKNOW.

Camp Vizierpoor, Oct. 29, 1823.—To Lady Harriet Paget.

I crossed the Ganges from Cawnpoor on the 25th and the day following had to receive a deputation from the King of Oude to welcome me into his territories, consisting of his brother, his grandson, and first minister.

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and although his brothers all held back, he consented to sit. The Maharaja's collection includes two landscapes by Chinnery: a view of the Esplanade and the Ochterlony Monument, and another of Calcutta as seen from the river: and also a charmingly painted little picture (12 inches by 9 inches) of two Chinese coolies.

(3) Lady D'Oyly is of course the wife of Sir Charles D'Oyly, seventh baronet, (son of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, the friend of Warren Hastings) who from March, 1821 to March 1828, was Opium Agent at Behar. He is described by Bishop Heber, who stayed with him at Patna, as "the best gentleman artist I ever saw." He had the advantage in 1808 of continuous instruction from "a very able artist of the name of Chinnery" and he appears in the Hastings correspondence as the sender of various specimens of his skill, notably a a picture of "A large Bannian tree at Alipoor an old acquaintance of yours." His "Views of Calcutta," published in 1830, are well known. He retired on an annuity in 1838, having then served forty years in India, and died at Florence in 1845. The eighth Baronet, also Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, was his brother and was brought up by Hastings at Daylesford. He was in the Bengal Civil Service and died in 1869. His eldest son by his first wife became the ninth Baronet. This was Major-General Sir Charles D'Oyly, who died in 1900. The tenth Baronet was his step-brother Sir Warren Hastings D'Oyly another old Bengal Civilian who died in 1921 and who has left an interesting book of reminiscences under the title of "Tales Retailed of Celebrities."

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Nov. 1.—I arrived here at Lucknow on the 30th having been met by the King at a distance of 3 or 4 miles, who invited me into his howdah.

Oct. 28, 1823.—I have often heard of the multitudes which accompany a camp in India, but without seeing it, it was quite impossible to form an idea of it. I suppose that the total number of my suite and escort does not exceed 250 persons, and I am confident that I am within bounds when I say that the camp-followers exceed 5,000. These consist of servants of all sorts; tent-pitchers; the drivers of all sorts of vehicles and animals, from the sociable down to the wheelbarrow, and from the elephant down to the spaniel: tradesmen of all denominations, from the cobbler up to the silversmith; victuallers, thieves, money lenders, lawyers (4).

Nov. 2, 1823—I dined with the King yesterday and he entertained me most sumptuously. Before dinner he placed his portrait set in a double row of diamonds and suspended by a double string of pearls, round my neck. (The Directors sold the diamonds and pearls. The portrait is in the possession of Mr. H. E. C. Paget.)

On November 4, Paget records that the King has invited him to sit for his picture to "Mr. Holmes, his portrait painter." The reference is obviously to Robert Home, and the picture is no doubt the one which is now in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(4) The Commander-in-Chief now-a-days comes and goes from Calcutta, almost unnoticed, except for the firing of the salute from the Fort. Sir Edward Paget has gives us some idea of the very different conditions under which his predecessors travelled, and we get another glimpse of the state which once surrounded the Commander-in-Chief on tour from 'Travels in India One Hundred Years Ago" (London, 1893) by Thomas Twining "a Civil Servant of the Honourable East India Company." Twining relates how in June, 1794 he was at Santipore "a large and flourishing town of 70,000 inhabitants, situated two miles from the left bank of the Ganges, sixty miles above Calcutta." Having learned that Sir Robert Abercromby, the Commander-in-Chief, was on his way from Calcutta to Delhi by river, he set out to meet him. "On July 18 at sunrise we perceived the first boats of the fleet coming round a point of land to the south. In a quarter of an hour all the fleet was in sight, coming towards me under full sail. The two large pinnaces with their lofty masts were imposingly conspicuous [in front] and the appearance of the whole consisting of more than forty sail, spread from one side of the river to the other, was very beautiful." Twining continues: "I remained on shore while the principal boats passed. The first was a handsome two masted pinnace, the sleeping boat of Sir Robert Abercromby. It was followed by another, considerably larger resembling in form and splendour the boat of state of the Goldsmiths' Company on the Thames, but with the masts and rigging more adapted for sailing. This vessel was for the reception of the General's company at dinner or on other occasions. The boat of the suite, consisting of pinnaces and budgerows, next followed, without particular order, and the line was closed by a number of boats of various sizes, some carrying the detachments of sepoys forming the General's guard, others the baggage of His Excellency and of his staff, and others sheep, goats, poultry, wines, and stores of all kinds. In addition, was a considerable number of boats belonging to merchants who were glad to avail themselves of the protection afforded by the General's fleet."

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GHAZI-UD-DIN HYDER, KING OF OUDH.

Nov. 5, 1823.—The King of Oudh (5) is about 55 years of age, handsome and of the most benign countenance, though I am told he sometimes gets into a rage and beats his minister with a slipper. If he did it with a big stick I believe it would be very well bestowed, as he has the reputation of a sad miscreant and has contrived by his intrigues to get his master, the Queen, and their son, the heir apparent, by the ears. The King is said to be an extremely good and kindhearted man, but like myself preferring anything and everything to his business. Accordingly, instead of attending to the affairs of State, he spends his time in boat-building and house-building, in turning, in printing, in collecting European and especially English commodities of all sorts descriptions and kinds, and, in short, in idling. The consequence is that his minister has the entire management of the Government of the country, and as he is most rapacicus and unprincipled fellow, the Kingdom is in all but a state of actual revolt and rebellion at his exactions. I never met a more thoroughly well and gentlemanly man in his manners and deportment in all my life than the King of Oude. Our own Sovereign (George IV ! !) would scarcely eclipse him. In short Aboo-I-Dowlah Muzzufir Mauz-ood-deen-Shah-i-Tuman Gazee-ood-deen Hyder Padshai-i-Oude is a capital fellow and has quite gained my heart.

THE FIRST BURMESE WAR.

Feb. 18, 1825. To Lady Harriet Paget.—I am sorry to say that your hopes of a speedy and satisfactory termination to this Burmese war are not

(5) Ghazi-ud-din succeeded his father Saadat Ali Khan as Nawab Wazir of Oudh on July 1814, at the age of forty. He was well meaning and seems to have made a favourable impression upon Sir Edward Paget: but he was addicted to indulgence in intoxicating drugs and liquors and fell easily under the influence of the minister of the moment. The individual in power at the time of Sir Edward Paget's visit in 1823 was Agha Mir. This man had originally entered the Nawab's service as a Khitmatgar and had waited behind the prince's chair when Lord Moira (the Marquess of Hastings) dined with him at Cawnpore in 1814. Ten years later Bishop Heber draws the followings picture of Agha Mir: "a dark harsh hawknosed man, with an expression of mouth which seems to imply habitual self command struggling with a naturally rough temper." He gained a complete ascendancy over Ghazi-ud-din Hyder who assumed the title of King in 1819 at the instance of the Marquess of Hastings. That Governor General had again visited him in 1818, and recorded in his diary, under date March 5:—"We breakfasted at the palace of Furruh [sic Farhad] Baksh with the Nawab after a contestation in the preliminary durbar, where, obliged him to take the right of me on the musnad. I insist on considering him an entirely independent sovereign, not as the Vizier of the Moghul Empire in India." As he had lent the Company two millions sterling towards the expenses of the Nepal War, Lord Hastings did not interfere inconveniently with the internal administration of Oudh. But the position was so unsatisfactory that when Lord Amhest became Governor General in 1823, he summoned the King to a durbar at Cawnpore in which the need for reform was strongly insisted upon. Nothing however had been done when Ghazi-ud-din died in October 1827.

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yet realised. They are a proud and obstinate people who have quarrelled with us without a cause, and are persevering in the contest without an object. However they have got so much the worst of it that I hardly think they will persevere in their folly much longer.

May 23, 1825.—We have received important news from Sir Archibald Campbell who entered Prome (one of the principal cities of Ava) on the 25th of last month, the enemy abandoning it with all their artillery and stores and walking off without offering any resistance or opposition. He has received a sort of overture to enter into negotiation for peace, and considering how severely the Burmese have suffered by the war, I cannot help indulging the hope that it may come to something—though when the councils of a nation are regulated by the advice and opinions of astrologers and soothsayers, it is no easy matter to calculate upon their proceedings. It would be a great source of comfort to me to see this inglorious and tiresome struggle brought to an end before I take my departure from this country, for I should be very sorry to leave to my successor such a legacy as was left to me.

May 26, 1825.—The official accounts reached me whilst in Council to-day, of Sir Archibald Campbell having possessed himself of Prome on the 25th of last month, the enemy having evacuated it the night before in the greatest consternation and confusion. We have every reason to hope that these vain and obstinate people are at length coming to their senses, and that this odious Burmese war is in a fair way of being brought to a close. One of the effects of our occupation of Prome has been the setting at liberty no less than 3000 boats loaded with families who were being driven up the river by their barbarous rulers and who look to us as their friends and protectors rather than as their enemies. We of course have set them all free to return to their homes (6).

(6) The British forces reached Yandaboo, only four marches from the capital, on February 22, 1826. Two days later the Burmese Government accepted the terms imposed upon them. The treaty of Yandaboo provided for the payment of a crore of rupees, as well as for the cession of Assam, Arakan, and the coast of Tenasserim. Vincent Smith (Oxford History of India, p. 652) thus criticizes the campaign:—

> The errors in the planning and execution of the operations consed much needless waste of life and treasure: The actual fighting was nearly all done by the European troops, the commander of the expedition, Sir Archibold Campbell, having little confidence in the Indian Army. Notwithstanding the valour of the soudiers, the Rangoon expedition probably would have been a failure but for the help sent from Madras by Sir Thomas Munro. Lord Amherst was not qualified either by natural ability or by training to direct a war, and Sir Archibald Campbell's strategy was open to criticism.

Nevertheless, the Governor-General was in 1826 created Earl Amherst of Arracan, in commemoration of his achievement.

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Lord Amherst to Sir E. Paget. [*After his return to England*] *Meerut, July 8, 1827.*

You will have enjoyed as much as I have done the unanimous applause now bestowed upon Sir Archibald Campbell. I can tell you that my heels were not the only ones intended to be tripped up. Sir Archibald was to have been laid upon his back also and I was, at one time, a little apprehensive that my single shield would barely suffice to protect him. But if you and I look back with more pleasure to one thing than another in our Indian life, it is to our support of Sir Archibald Campbell. I am in daily expectation of hearing from the Court of Directors their determination on a point which I pressed upon them with more earnestness than I ever used in urging any suit, the grant of £1,000 a year to the man who stopped short at Yandaboo when Ava was within his clutches.

LORD AMHERST AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

May 9, 1825.—To Lady Harriet Paget.—I fear from a passage in your letter.—"Report says you have been cavalierly treated,"—that you have imbibed the notion that Lord Amherst and I were not on the best terms. Nothing can be more untrue: we are the best and most cordial friends. He is hated here by the blackguards who form a large portion of the community, because he is an honourable and upright gentleman and far above the low and dirty intrigue in which they love to grovel, and with the view of injuring him without benefiting me there is, I believe, no bounds to their calumnies.

Lord Amherst to Sir E. Paget. Barrackpoor, October 31, 1825. (On his departure from India).

Pray do me the kindness to say that I am not sent to Coventry by the Society of Calcutta, for Mr. Hume, I see, continues to tell the Court of Proprietors that I am.

To Lady Harriet Paget. May 18, 1825.—Every day increases my anxioty to hear and know what the wise heads in England have determined with respect to me.....My aversion to this country and all its concerns so daily increases in growth that I live in a state of indescribable terror lest there should be any truth in the report of an intention to condemn me to another year's purgatory here.

Sir E. Paget to Sir Samford Whittingham (after his return): written from Sandhurst: 1826.

I daily chant the Te Deum at having escaped from the pestilential vapours of Chowringhee with a mens sana in corpore sano.

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Selections from the Calcutta Gazette 1789-1798.

THE following excerpts from the *Calcutta Gazette*, which do not find a place in Seton Karr's Selections, have been collated by Rai Promatha Nath Mullick, Bahadur :—

From the Supplement of the Calcutta Gazette *of the 29th January 1789, Vol. X, No. 257.*

FORT WILLIAM.

REVENUE DEPARTMENT—14TH JUNE, 1789.

NOTICE is hereby given—

That all persons whosoever (the Magistrates of Districts excepted) are prohibited from making use of or constructing, boats of the following dimensions after the 1st of March next :—

Lukhas, 40 to 90 covids length ... 2½ to 4 covids breadth.
Jelkais, 30 to 70 ditto ... 3½ to 5 ditto
Paunchways of Chandpore carrying more that ten bars.

That the Magistrates of Jessore, Dacca, Jelalpore, Mymensingh, Chittagong, the Twenty-four Pergunnahs, Huglee, Tumlook, Burdwan and Nuddeah have been directed to seize and confiscate all boats of the above descriptions which may be found within the limits of their respective jurisdictions after the period above-mentioned.

That any Zemindar allowing any boats of the foregoing descriptions to be built or repaired within the limits of his Zemindary (unless by a written order of the Magistrate of the District) shall forfeit to Government the village in which such boat shall be proved to have been built or repaired.

That any carpenter, blacksmith, or other artificer engaging for or employed in the building or repairing of boats of the descriptions above specified (unless by the express permission of the Magistrate of the District) shall be committed to close imprisonment in the Foujdarry Jail for any period not above one month or suffer corporal punishment not exceeding twenty strokes with a rattan.

Published by the order of the Governor-General in Council.

E. HAY,
Secretary to the Government.

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From the Calcutta Gazette, *28th May 1789, Vol. XI, No. 274.*

SOLITARY confinement, an idea suggested by the Great Philanthropist, Mr. Howard, has been found to produce the best effects upon criminals; few enter the jail so hardened, who being left alone to the pain of reflection do not amend and on the otherhand, those who have been incantiously or from distress led into vice when suffered to associate with the more depraved, soon catch the contagion and become lost to all shame and dread of punishment.

Ibid.—We are happy to hear the permanent assessment of the revenues is to take place in the Behar Province from the commencement of the ensuing Fussily year beginning in September next.

From the Supplement of the Calcutta Gazette, *of the 2nd July 1789, Vol. II, No. 279.*

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEREAS considerable losses have been sustained in the revenue assessed on the lands of the Town of Calcutta and the garden grounds in the vicinity thereof from the property having been frequently transferred, and the proprietors having been made liable for the revenue from the date of their purchases only, it is declared that, without any reference to the former proprietors, Government will consider all grounds sold after the 1st August next as pledged for the liquidation of the revenue with which it is taxed, and if any person thenceforth purchasing land shall fail to make good the arrears of the tax-assessed thereon, the land will be disposed of to discharge the amount due. After this public notice no pleas will be admitted of ignorance of the arrears owing at the time of sale, as it will be incumbent on all purchasers to ascertain the incumbrances on the land previous to their purchase of it.

By order of the Board of Revenue.
J. H. HARINGTON,
Secretary to the Government.

CALCUTTA,
The 29th June, 1789.

From the Calcutta Gazette, *Thursday April 21, 1791.*

THE Travancore, Capt. Ross, arrived at Diamond Harbour on the 17th inst. from the Malabar Coast—She is one of the largest ships that has ever been in this river, being Eleven Hundred and Fifty Tons (1) and

(1) In November, 1922, the *City of Nagpore*, a steamer of 10,000 tons, came up the river and Anchor—Brocklebank liners, of 12,500 tons, have also made the passage.

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capable of carrying 25,000 bags of Rice, she is the property of the House of Messrs Rivett and Wilkinson, of Bombay, and will return immediately to that place with a cargo of Rice.

The Travancore touched at Madras on her passage, and sailed from thence on the 6th instant.

The Travancore was detained six days in Balasore Roads for want of a Pilot, and four more Vessels, we understand, were in the same situation. As the roads at this season of the year are extremely dangerous, it would be of very great advantage to the Commence of this place. if an additional number of Pilots could be employed.

From the Calcutta Gazette *of the 24th November 1791, Vol. XVI, No. 401.*

[Extract of a letter from Beneras, dated 17th November 1791.]

THIS day Jonathan Duncan, Esq:, the English Resident, accompanied by Nabob Aly Ibrahim Khan, the two assistants, and other gentlemen, amidst an innumerable concourse of the native inhabitants of all denominations, paid the first visit to the new Hindoo College, founded in this City. This institution which can not fail to reflect lasting honour on our nation and age, is founded by the British Government, under the auspices of the present Resident, by whose taste it was first suggested, and by whose attention and zeal it has been effectually carried into execution. The Pundit Cassinat Indre commonly called Cassinat, who is constituted the head or principal of the College, waited upon Mr. Duncan, at his town house, about 9 o'clock in the morning; whence he conducted him and the rest of the company to the building, at which the institution is at present held. This is a square, at no great distance from the Resident's house, consisting of a ground floor, and two upper stories, built round a small open area. The room which the President had prepared for the reception of the Resident's visit, was a large hall on the north side of the square, on the floor, and is, I believe, one of the public schools. To this the company was conducted, and on entering it, Mr. Duncan was saluted by the President in elegant Sanskrit verses, composed by him for the occasion and in return to which Mr. Duncan presented him with a Kelat in a distinguished manner. This act of grace was immediately proclaimed aloud in the square in the usual form. The Resident and the company sat down for a few minutes, with the President, during which time he received offerings of garlands, of flowers from some of the ushers and students, who were in waiting to present them. Mr. Duncan received a particular and solemn address from Anund Ghun Gosayn, Professor of the Puruna Sastra, who first delivered it in the original Sanskrit metre in which it had been composed for the occasion, and afterwards, in Persian, into which language the learned author had made an elegant poetical version of it.

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Mr. Duncan visited the eight public schools of which this foundation consists, separately, in each of which he found the respective master or professor, sitting in the midst of his pupils; but on the Resident's entrance, the master immediately rose up, spoke a complimentary address suitable to the occasion and received the honorary dress, of which mark of distinction, proclamation was made as abovementioned. Some of the masters had prepared their pupils to join with them in repeating the address, which had a most pleasing effect, and in all of schools, the garland of flowers were offered. I shall send you copies of some, if not, of all the addresses, as soon as I can procure them. From these you will see the object of this institution or the different branches of literature, for the cultivation of which it is founded. No language, however, can express the eloquence and pathos with which the addresses were delivered by the respective learned authors, whose accents and gestures indicated the liveliest sense of the public favour, and attention shewn in this foundation to their nation collectively, and to themselves individually.

From the Supplement of the Calcutta Gazette, *Thursday, 1st December 1791, Vol. XVI.*

No. 405.—The following curious advertisement appeared in the Liverpool Paper of Saturday last:—

"A man's wife to be peremptorily sold by auction, at the Pig-market near the Fish-stones on Wednesday the 6th of April instant, precisely at one o'clock noon. The woman is middle aged, fair faced, proportionable."

"*N. B.*—The purchaser may depend upon having a good title made to him, on payment of his purchase money."

"Any person or persons who harbours or conceals the above woman, until sale thereof, will be prosecuted as the Law directs."

No. 394.—The Calcutta Magazine was published on Monday, 3rd October 1791 from Cossitollah.

No. 402.—An attempt was made to burn the New Fort. European vagrants found in the Streets of Calcutta and its environs after 6 P. M., were arrested.

No. 405.—Gold and silver exchange of coins introduced.

From the Calcutta Gazette, *September 22, 1796. Vol. XXVI, No. 606.*

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

FORT WILLIAM THE 19TH SEPTEMBER 1796.

THE public are hereby informed, that the Sub-Treasurer at the Presidency the Resident at Lucknow, and the Collectors of Beneras, Shahabad,

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Moorshedabad, and Dacca, have been authorised to receive until further orders any sums of money, not less than Sicca Rupees five hundred, that may be tendered on loan to the Honourable Company, for a period of one or two years at the option of the Governor-General in Council, on which interest will be allowed at, and after at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum, and paid for the first year at the experation of twelve months, whether the principal should be then paid or defered until the expiration of the second year.

For the immediate satisfaction of those who may pay money into the treasury at any of the places abovementioned, a receipt will be granted in the following form :—

"I do acknowledge that A B has this day paid into the Honourable Company's Treasury, the sum of Sicca Rupees for which he is entitled to receive from the Secretary to the Government, a Promissory Note payable at the expiration of one or two years from this date at the option of the Governor-General in Council, with interest to the paid annually at and after the rate of twelve per cent. per annum."

The following is the form of the Promissory Notes, which will be issued by the Secretary to the Government in exchange for the abovementioned receipts.

"The Governor-General in Council does hereby promise for and on behalf of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, to pay at the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, at the expiration of one or two years after this date at his option, on to A & B his Executors, Administrators or Assigns, or his or their order the sum of Sicca Rupees this day received into the Honourable Company's Treasury from A, B together with interest annually at and after the rate of Twelve per cent. per annum."

"Exd. *Accountant General.*"

"Reg. No.

The Resident at Lucknow and Collector of Beneras and authorised to receive the current money of those countries without any deduction for batta.

The public will receive Promissory Notes in exchange for the receipts to be granted in the first instance on application at the office of the Accountant-General.

Published by order of the Governor-General in Council,

H. MACLEOD,

Sub-Secretary.

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From the Calcutta Gazette, *Thursday, 30th March 1797, Vol. XXVII, No. 683.*

To

THE BRITISH INHABITANTS OF CALCUTTA.

19th June 1796.

GENTLEMEN,

I have now the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter congratulating me on my acquittal of all the charges preferred against me in England.

I return you my most sincere thanks at this instance of your attention to me, on an occasion so interesting to my credit and peace of mind; and for the confirmation which you have joined to it, of your former approbation of my conduct, during the period in which I held the Chief Administration in Bengal.

The mode which you have chosen to convey to me the testimony of your good will, claim also my further thanks—although independent and complete in itself, yet by communicating it through the channel of the Court of Directors you have given it the effect of an appeal to their justice. It was transmitted to me by their command in a letter signed by the Chairman and Deputy Chairman expressive, in the most honourable terms, of their accordance with the sentiments which it contained.

To a man whom a strange fatality has involved through the course of a long official life, in an unremitted struggle for the means of discharging with effect the duties of his station, and guarding his reputation from dishonour, declarations of applause and affection from those who stood by position nearest to the seat or influence of that authority in which he so long participated, and whose operations he in a great measure directed, are of more worth than any that wealth and honours united, could yield—such I can truly affirm, they are in my estimation of them.

You gentlemen have many claims of old to my regard—there was a time, in which the authority of my public office received a considerable support from the influence of your good opinion of the manner in which it had been exercised. The knowledge of your sentiments publicly and authentically expressed on the day of my departure from Calcutta, contributed largely to support my credit with my countrymen in England, when but for this, and similar aids, it must have sunk under the pressure of accusations heaped upon me without number, and yet unrevoked, in the name of the most revered body upon earth. These are personal benefits, which I must ever remember with a grateful heart: nor is the impression made upon it by the prompt and ardent zeal, which you have ever manifested to co-operate with the

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Government itself in seasons of great exigency, less deeply marked, though blended with an esteem arising from a more disinterested consideration.

When I parted, in the year 1785, from the community to which I had attached myself by an intercourse of many years, and by various relations, my heart sorrowed for the separation, but consoled itself with the hope, which a conscious reflection of a long, a well intended, and a successful service, entitle me to indulge, that I might still devote what remained of the active portion of my life to the advancement of your welfare, with that of the state on which it depended. I have been disappointed, and have painfully, though patiently, borne the disappointment. Yet has it not been wholly unprofitable. The voluminous evidence produced in the course of my long trial, has incidentally brought to light many of the virtues of my countrymen and fellow servants in India, which would otherwise have remained sunk in obscurity: it has in a great measure removed the prejudices which had been excited against them, and shown them deserving of the love and respect of their brethren at home, for the firm regard which they have shown to their common interest; for the candour and simplicity of their manners; and the genuineness and moderation with which they have generally, and almost individually, demeaned themselves towards the native inhabitants of the provinces dependent on the British Dominions; over whom the ascendancy of the national character is scarcely less prevalent than the power with which it is in many instances officially associated. These virtues, while they tend to promote the duration of that dominion, by binding it on willing minds, reflect, at the same time, a credit on the British name, and give to their possessors a double title to the affection of every man who bears it.

In the many different occupations which I have filled in India from my early youth upwards, I have had more opportunities of knowing the general character of my countrymen resident in it, but more particularly in the provinces of Bengal, than almost any other man; and I dare to pronounce, as I would if called upon before the judgment seat of heaven, that in the sentiment and practice of the two best affections which constitute the bond of society, namely, public spirit and generosity, they are not surpassed if equal'd, by any people upon earth. I might appeal to a very recent instance of both, if it were necessary to display to you the exhibition of your own deeds; and God forbid that my countrymen, if ever this writing should come to their knowledge, should want a monitor to remind them of their benefactors, or to awaken in their breasts the sentiments which are due to those who feel for their distresses, and manifest a solicitude, without the possession of it, to relieve them.

To the Almighty Disposer of human events I humbly and fervently offer up my prayers for your prosperity, for the prosperity of the British Empire

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in India, and for the ease, content, and happiness of the inhabitants of it, who have a more immediate and indispensible claim to its protection.

I have the honour to be with the most grateful and indelible attachment,

Gentlemen,

Your much obliged and faithful servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

From the Calcutta Gazette *of the 22nd November, 1798, Vol. XXX, No. 760.*

Proclamation, by Buonaparte to his Army, previous to their landing at Alexandria.

LIBERTY—FRENCH REPUBLIC.—EQUALITY.

BUONAPARTE.

Member of the National Institute, and Commander-in-Chief.

Head-Quarters, on board the L'Orient, the 4th of Messidor, the 6th year of the French Republic, One and Indivisible, 22nd of June 1798.

SOLDIERS,

You are about to undertake a conquest the effects of which on Civilization, and the Commerce of the World are incalculable.

To England you will give the most sure and most sensible blow, whilst you are preparing for her the mortal wound.

We shall have many fatiguing marches, we shall fight several battles, we shall succeed in all our enterprizes; the destinies are in our favour. The Mamaluck Beys, who favor exclusively the English commerce, who have covered our merchants with insult, and tyrannized over the unhappy inhabitants of the Nile, a few days after our arrival shall no longer exist. The people with whom you are going to live are Mahometans, the first article of their faith is: there is no other God, but one, and Mahomet is his prophet: do not contradict them, conduct yourself towards them as you have conducted yourselves towards the Jews, and the Italians; have respect for the Muphties and their Imans, as you have had for the Rabbins and the Bishops; have for the ceremonies which the Alcoran prescribes, for their Mosques, the same tolerance which you have had for the convents, for the synagogues, for the religion of Moses, and of Jesus Christ.

The Roman Legions protected all religious, you will find here different manners from those of Europe; you must conform to them.

The people where we are going, treat their women differently from us, but in all countries, he who violates them is a monster.

Plunder only enriches a small number of men, it would dishonor us; it would destroy our resources, it would make enemies of the people whom it is our interest to have for friends.

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The first city which we shall go to was built by Alexander; we shall find at each step a grand remembrance of actions worthy to excite our emulation.

(Sd.) BUONAPARTE.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

ALEXANDER BERTHIER.

General of Division, Chief of the Staff, General of the Army.

At the Press of the Naval Armament, on board the L'Orient.

From the Calcutta Gazette *of the 25th October 1798, Vol. XXX, No. 765.*

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the security and defence of this Presidency require, that the Corps of Militia, composed of the Inhabitants of the Town of Calcutta, should be re-established and embodied under such Regulations as the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council shall order and direct.

His Lordship in Council relying on the Loyalty and Public Spirit of the Inhabitants of the Town of Calcutta, hereby orders and directs all the European, Armenian, and Portuguese Inhabitants of the said Town, to assemble on the walk between Chandpaul Ghaut and Fort William, to be there duly mustered and enrolled :—

The Europeans to assemble at the aforesaid place on Wednesday the 7th,

The Armenians on Thursday the 8th, and

The Portuguese on Friday the 9th of November, at day-break; and the proper officers are hereby commanded to attend, for the purpose of mustering and enrolling such persons as shall appear and tender their services according to the tenor of this proclamation.

Published by order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council.

(Sd.) G. H. BARLOW,
Secretary to the Government.

FORT WILLIAM,
October 31, 1798.

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The College of Fort William—V.

NOTE :—For Part I of Colonel Ranking's "History of the College of Fort William," see Volume VII and Volume XXI of *Bengal : Past & Present*. Parts II and IV were published in Volumes XXIII and Part III in Volume XXII. The present and succeeding Parts will contain a transcript of the three volumes of College Registers, with Biographical Notices of many of the Students].

ADMISSION OF STUDFNTS COMPILED FROM COLLEGE REGISTERS, 1801 TO 1813.

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(*N. B.—The date in brackets denotes the date of birth as given in the Registers*).

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yet realised. They are a proud and obstinate people who have quarrelled with us without a cause, and are persevering in the contest without an object. However they have got so much the worst of it that I hardly think they will persevere in their folly much longer.

May 23, 1825.—We have received important news from Sir Archibald Campbell who entered Prome (one of the principal cities of Ava) on the 25th of last month, the enemy abandoning it with all their artillery and stores and walking off without offering any resistance or opposition. He has received a sort of overture to enter into negotiation for peace, and considering how severely the Burmese have suffered by the war, I cannot help indulging the hope that it may come to something—though when the councils of a nation are regulated by the advice and opinions of astrologers and soothsayers, it is no easy matter to calculate upon their proceedings. It would be a great source of comfort to me to see this inglorious and tiresome struggle brought to an end before I take my departure from this country, for I should be very sorry to leave to my successor such a legacy as was left to me.

May 26, 1825.—The official accounts reached me whilst in Council to-day, of Sir Archibald Campbell having possessed himself of Prome on the 25th of last month, the enemy having evacuated it the night before in the greatest consternation and confusion. We have every reason to hope that these vain and obstinate people are at length coming to their senses, and that this odious Burmese war is in a fair way of being brought to a close. One of the effects of our occupation of Prome has been the setting at liberty no less than 3000 boats loaded with families who were being driven up the river by their barbarous rulers and who look to us as their friends and protectors rather than as their enemies. We of course have set them all free to return to their homes (6).

(6) The British forces reached Yandaboo, only four marches from the capital, on February 22, 1826. Two days later the Burmese Government accepted the terms imposed upon them. The treaty of Yandaboo provided for the payment of a crore of rupees, as well as for the cession of Assam, Arakan, and the coast of Tenasserim. Vincent Smith (Oxford History of India, p. 652) thus criticizes the campaign:—

> The errors in the planning and execution of the operations consed much needless waste of life and treasure: The actual fighting was nearly all done by the European troops, the commander of the expedition, Sir Archibold Campbell, having little confidence in the Indian Army. Notwithstanding the valour of the soudiers, the Rangoon expedition probably would have been a failure but for the help sent from Madras by Sir Thomas Munro. Lord Amherst was not qualified either by natural ability or by training to direct a war, and Sir Archibald Campbell's strategy was open to criticism.

Nevertheless, the Governor-General was in 1826 created Earl Amherst of Arracan, in commemoration of his achievement.

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Lord Amherst to Sir E. Paget. [*After his return to England*] *Meerut, July 8, 1827.*

You will have enjoyed as much as I have done the unanimous applause now bestowed upon Sir Archibald Campbell. I can tell you that my heels were not the only ones intended to be tripped up. Sir Archibald was to have been laid upon his back also and I was, at one time, a little apprehensive that my single shield would barely suffice to protect him. But if you and I look back with more pleasure to one thing than another in our Indian life, it is to our support of Sir Archibald Campbell. I am in daily expectation of hearing from the Court of Directors their determination on a point which I pressed upon them with more earnestness than I ever used in urging any suit, the grant of £1,000 a year to the man who stopped short at Yandaboo when Ava was within his clutches.

LORD AMHERST AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

May 9, 1825.—To Lady Harriet Paget.—I fear from a passage in your letter.—"Report says you have been cavalierly treated,"—that you have imbibed the notion that Lord Amherst and I were not on the best terms. Nothing can be more untrue: we are the best and most cordial friends. He is hated here by the blackguards who form a large portion of the community, because he is an honourable and upright gentleman and far above the low and dirty intrigue in which they love to grovel, and with the view of injuring him without benefiting me there is, I believe, no bounds to their calumnies.

Lord Amherst to Sir E. Paget. Barrackpoor, October 31, 1825. (On his departure from India).

Pray do me the kindness to say that I am not sent to Coventry by the Society of Calcutta, for Mr. Hume, I see, continues to tell the Court of Proprietors that I am.

To Lady Harriet Paget. May 18, 1825.—Every day increases my anxioty to hear and know what the wise heads in England have determined with respect to me.....My aversion to this country and all its concerns so daily increases in growth that I live in a state of indescribable terror lest there should be any truth in the report of an intention to condemn me to another year's purgatory here.

Sir E. Paget to Sir Samford Whittingham (after his return): written from Sandhurst: 1826.

I daily chant the Te Deum at having escaped from the pestilential vapours of Chowringhee with a mens sana in corpore sano.

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Selections from the Calcutta Gazette 1789-1798.

THE following excerpts from the *Calcutta Gazette*, which do not find a place in Seton Karr's Selections, have been collated by Rai Promatha Nath Mullick, Bahadur :—

From the Supplement of the Calcutta Gazette *of the 29th January 1789, Vol. X, No. 257.*

FORT WILLIAM.

REVENUE DEPARTMENT—14TH JUNE, 1789.

NOTICE is hereby given—

That all persons whosoever (the Magistrates of Districts excepted) are prohibited from making use of or constructing, boats of the following dimensions after the 1st of March next :—

Lukhas, 40 to 90 covids length ... 2½ to 4 covids breadth.
Jelkais, 30 to 70 ditto ... 3½ to 5 ditto
Paunchways of Chandpore carrying more that ten bars.

That the Magistrates of Jessore, Dacca, Jelalpore, Mymensingh, Chittagong, the Twenty-four Pergunnahs, Huglee, Tumlook, Burdwan and Nuddeah have been directed to seize and confiscate all boats of the above descriptions which may be found within the limits of their respective jurisdictions after the period above-mentioned.

That any Zemindar allowing any boats of the foregoing descriptions to be built or repaired within the limits of his Zemindary (unless by a written order of the Magistrate of the District) shall forfeit to Government the village in which such boat shall be proved to have been built or repaired.

That any carpenter, blacksmith, or other artificer engaging for or employed in the building or repairing of boats of the descriptions above specified (unless by the express permission of the Magistrate of the District) shall be committed to close imprisonment in the Foujdarry Jail for any period not above one month or suffer corporal punishment not exceeding twenty strokes with a rattan.

Published by the order of the Governor-General in Council.

E. HAY,
Secretary to the Government.

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From the Calcutta Gazette, *28th May 1789, Vol. XI, No. 274.*

SOLITARY confinement, an idea suggested by the Great Philanthropist, Mr. Howard, has been found to produce the best effects upon criminals; few enter the jail so hardened, who being left alone to the pain of reflection do not amend and on the otherhand, those who have been incantiously or from distress led into vice when suffered to associate with the more depraved, soon catch the contagion and become lost to all shame and dread of punishment.

Ibid.—We are happy to hear the permanent assessment of the revenues is to take place in the Behar Province from the commencement of the ensuing Fussily year beginning in September next.

From the Supplement of the Calcutta Gazette, *of the 2nd July 1789. Vol. II, No. 279.*

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEREAS considerable losses have been sustained in the revenue assessed on the lands of the Town of Calcutta and the garden grounds in the vicinity thereof from the property having been frequently transferred, and the proprietors having been made liable for the revenue from the date of their purchases only, it is declared that, without any reference to the former proprietors, Government will consider all grounds sold after the 1st August next as pledged for the liquidation of the revenue with which it is taxed, and if any person thenceforth purchasing land shall fail to make good the arrears of the tax-assessed thereon, the land will be disposed of to discharge the amount due. After this public notice no pleas will be admitted of ignorance of the arrears owing at the time of sale, as it will be incumbent on all purchasers to ascertain the incumbrances on the land previous to their purchase of it.

By order of the Board of Revenue.
J. H. HARINGTON,
Secretary to the Government.

CALCUTTA,
The 29th June, 1789.

From the Calcutta Gazette, *Thursday April 21, 1791.*

THE Travancore, Capt. Ross, arrived at Diamond Harbour on the 17th inst. from the Malabar Coast—She is one of the largest ships that has ever been in this river, being Eleven Hundred and Fifty Tons (1) and

(1) In November, 1922, the *City of Nagpore*, a steamer of 10,000 tons, came up the river and Anchor—Brocklebank liners, of 12,500 tons, have also made the passage.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

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J. Vans Agnew.—Writer on Madras establishment 1801. Assistant to Chief Secretary at Fort Saint George, 1803. At home, 1804. Out of service, 1808.

H. A. Alexander.—Resigned, April 30, 1807: Director of the East India Company, 1826-1853: died January 1861.

The Hon'ble H. A. Annesley.—Drowned in England, August 27, 1818: step-brother of George, Viscount Valentia (aft. second Earl of Mountnorris) who travelled in India with Henry Salt in 1802-1806 (*vide* "Voyages and Travels," published 1809).

E. Bagge.—Afterwards known as E. Lee Warner, Judge and Magistrate of Chittagong, 1818: Commissioner of Bhaugulpore, 1829: Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut at the Presidency, 1839.

R. Barlow.—Commissioner of Allahabad 1829: retired 1836: died 1845: nephew of Sir George Hilaro Barlow, Bart.: marr. daughter of W. W. Bird.

J. H. Barlow.—Salt Agent at Hidgellee, 1835: died Sept. 11, 1841, at Contai: (Monument in St. John's Church) 3rd son of Sir G. H. Barlow, Bart. (Provisional Governor-General, 1805-1807: Governor of Madras 1807-1812).

J. R. Barwell.—Died April 16, 1833 "at Chowringhee:" Director of the Bank of Bengal 1817: Comptroller of the Treasury, 1828.

C. R. Barwell.—Died December 12, 1836, at Calcutta. Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, 1835.

A. C. Barwell.—Salt Agent at Jessore, 1821: Salt Agent at Cuttack, 1828: Collector of Beerbhoom, 1835: Salt Agent at Hidgellee, 1841.

W. B. Bayley.—Third Member of the Supreme Council and President of the Council of the College of Fort William 1825: Provisional Governor-General 1828: Vice-President and Deputy Governor of Bengal, 1830: retired anuity May 1, 1834. Director of the East India Company 1834-1858 (Deputy Chairman 1839, Chairman 1840). Died May, 1860. (Father of Sir Steuart Bayley, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1887 to 1892). Monument in St. Johns Church. Portrait in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection.

W. R. B. Bennett.—Collector of Rajshahye, 1815: died at Serampore June 1, 1830.

S. Bird.—Fourth Judge of the Provincial Court at Dacca, 1824: died at Dacca, October 24, 1824.

W. W. Bird.—Ordinary Member of the G.-G.'s Council 1838: Deputy Governor of Bengal 1840: officiated as Governor-General 1844: retired 1844: died in Europe June 1, 1857. A portrait of him is in the Calcutta

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Town Hall: and another by Sir Francis Grant, P. R. A. in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. His daughter married John Cotton (Madras Civil Service 1801-1830) Director of the East India Company 1833-1845, (Deputy Chairman 1842, Chairman of the Court 1843).

R. M. Bird.—Member Sudder Board of Revenue, at Allahabad, 1834: in charge of Land Revenue Settlement in N.-W. P.: retired 1842: died Aug. 22, 1853.

J. V. Biscoe.—Collector of Purneah 1825: died at Purneah, July 23, 1827.

C. G. Blagrave.—Salt Agent at Bullooah and Chittagong, 1832: died at Chittagong, June 10, 1836.

H. Blundell.—Acting Register of Dinagepore, 1823: out of employ 1824: died at Sulkea, June 11, 1825.

R. W. Brooke—Died, April 13 1811.

T. Brown.—Collector of Govt. Customs and Town duties at Bareilly, 1819: died September 13 1825, at Calcutta.

J. Cairncross.—Died Jan. 1, 1806 at Calcutta.

T. P. Calvert.—In charge of collectorate of Saharunpore 1817: died at Saharunpore, 1817.

D. Campbell.—Judge and Magistrate of Hooghly, 1809: died on August 12, 1813, on board the "John Palmer."

W. Cary.—Died August 25, 1808. [Qy. at Calcutta].

J. Cayley.—Second Assistant to the Board of Revenue, 1815: Resigned in India, 1816.

W. A. Chalmer.—Judge of Bhaugulpore, 1821: died at Kedgeree, Jan. 17, 1820.

R. Chamberlain.—Secretary to Board of Commissioners in Behar and Benares, 1817: died August 6, 1819, near Berhampore.

W. Chaplin.—Writer on Madras establishment 1799: Register in the Ceded Districts, 1804. Commissioner in the Deccan, 1823. Out of the service 1827. (Services commended by Sir Thomas Munro, Vol. I, p. 251).

H. Chastenay.—Private Secretary to the Governor-General [Marquess of Hastings] 1820: Acting Secretary to Government in the Persian Secretary's Office 1822: died May 27, 1822, at the Presidency. [Monument in South Park Street burial ground.]

H. T. Chippendall.—Senior Commissioner at Tanjore 1839: Senior Warehouse Keeper at the Presidency, 1838: died, June 7, 1839, in Calcutta.

C. Chisholme.—Resigned, December 3, 1805, in India.

The Hon'ble A. H. Cole.—Writer on Madras establishment 1801. Secretary to the Resident at Mysore, 1806. Resident at Mysore 1812. Superintendent of Government Lotteries, 1818. At home on absentee

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allowance, 1827. Resigned, 1829. M. P. Died in England June, 16, 1844. [4th son of 1st Earl of Enniskillen.]

G. T. Collins.—Collector of Mymensingh 1824: out of employ, 1829: died November 8, 1833, at Calcutta.

A. J. Colvin.—Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at Allahabad, 1831: retired Jan. 18, 1839.

R. Creighton.—Judge and Magistrate of Dinagepore 1825: died October 3, 1827, at Moorshedabad.

G. Curtis.—Died September 20, 1805, at Purneah.

T. J. Dashwood.—Civil and Sessions Judge of Tirhoot 1832: died June 17, 1836, "on board the steamboat off Mirzapore."

C. J. Davidson—Supdt. of Naraingunge Salt Chowkies, 1827: out of employ 1837: died April 1, 1839, at Dacca.

C. Dawes.—Third Judge of the Dacca Provincial Court 1827: died Jan. 11, 1831, on board the "Euphrates."

J. C. Dick.—Commissioner of Bareilly, 1829: died, November 17, 1831, at Bareilly.

W. F. Dick.—Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, 1833: retired 1838. Marr. Emily Shakespear, sister of Sir Richmond Shakespear and daughter of J. T. Shakespear, B. C. S., and Emily Thackeray.

W. Dorin.—Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at the Presidency, 1826: died, December 26, 1827, at Calcutta.

J. H. D'Oyly.—Succ. his brother Charles (the Artist B. C. S.) as 8th Baronet in 1845: Judge of Beerbhoom. 1830: Special Commissioner under Reg. III of 1828 for the Calcutta Division, 1842: retired 1843: died March 1869. [Ward of Warren Hastings and brought up by him at Daylesford].

J. Drew.—Collector of Land Revenue and Supdt. of Eastern Salt Chowkies, Dacca, 1827: died January 30, 1829 at Dacca.

G. Ellice.—Resigned the service September, 1808 and lost in the ship *Experiment* on his passage Home, November 20, following.

W. P. Elliot.—Secretary to the Embassy to the Arab States, 1801: died, October 16, 1802 at Senna in Arabia.

H. Ellis.—First Assistant to the Resident at Poonah, 1810: resigned in India, August 18, 1811.

J. Ewer.—Supdt. of the Western Salt Chowkies, 1820: died, February 14, 1823, at the Cape of Good Hope.

W. Ewer.—Assistant to the Resident at Amboyna (W. B. Martin), 1810: Judge and Magistrate of Mymensingh, 1813: Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamat Adawlut at Allahabad, 1833, retired Jan. 24, 1839: died Jan. 5, 1863: [an accomplished orientalist: the first European to read the inscriptions on the Kutb Minar at Delhi, 1822: son of Walter Ewer who was sent

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by the Government of India to Fort Marlborough to supersede an Acting Governor of the Settlement.]

J. Eyre.—Died, October 28, 1811, at Jessore.

W. Fane.—Member of the Sudder Board of Revenue, Allahabad, 1832: died, March 7, 1839, on the Cape of Good Hope.

J. Fendall.—Died [Qy. at Nuddea] July 5, 1815.

A. N. Forde.—Collector of Moradabad, 1821: died, Sept. 22, 1828, at Moradabad.

W. Forrester.—Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack, 1820: died, January 21, 1827 at Cuttack.

A. C. Fraser.—Assistant to Resident at Delhi, 1810: died, June 4, 1816, at Delhi.

J. Fraser.—Judge and Magistrate of Northern Division of Bundlecund, 1830: died May 31, 1831, at Humeerpore.

Jas. J. Fraser.—Proceeded to Europe, 1809: resigned, 1810, in England.

W. Fraser.—Agent to G.-G. at Delhi, 1832: shot at Delhi by Kareem Khan, at the instance of the Nawab of Ferozepore, March 22, 1835, [was Commissioner for the settlement of Garhwal in Hardwar in 1815. With his brother James Baillie Fraser, the artist and author of the well known views of Calcutta which were published in London in 1824 and 1826, made an extended tour in the Himalayas: See J. B. Fraser's "Twenty views of the Himalaya Mountains, London, 1820."]

G. French.—Third Judge of Provincial Court at Moorshedabad, 1821: died November 25, 1824, in China.

C. W. Gardner.—Secretary to Govt. in the Military Dept., 1812: proceeded to Europe, 1816.

The Hon'ble E. Gardner.—5th son of first Lord Gardner, the Admiral; Resident at the Court of the Rajah of Nepaul, 1819: retired, 1829: died 1861.

F. D. Gordon.—Commercial Resident at Luckhipore, 1823: died November 16, 1825 at Luckhipore.

W. B. Gordon.—Salt Agent of the 24-Pergunnahs, 1825: died November 8, 1817 at Calcutta.

C. Gowan.—Head Assistant to the Resident at Poonah, 1808: died October 16, 1809, on board H. M. S. *Iphigenia.*

R. Grindall.—Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal of Benares, 1829: died at the Cape of Good Hope, November 13, 1831.

N. J. Halhed.—Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at the Presidency, 1836: died August 1, 1838 at Calcutta. [Son of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, of the E. I. Co.'s Service on the Bengal Establishment who returned to England, 1785 and was M. P. for Lymington, 1790-95: a learned

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Oriental scholar whose MSS. were purchased by the British Museum: appointed in 1809 to post at the India House and died in 1830].

E. J. Harington.—Second son of Sir John Edward Harington, 8th baronet (1760-1831) of the H. E. I., C. S.: Assistant to Magistrate at Chittagong, 1812: Offg. Judge of Hooghly, 1834: Acting Postmaster-General, 1836: retired 1837. Died Oct. 5, 1857. [His younger brother Revd. Richard, Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, was grand-father of Sir Richard Harington, 12th baronet, Judge of the High Court at Fort William from 1899 to 1913].

J. Harington.—Eldest son of Sir J. E. Harington, 8th bart.: Succ. as 9th bart. 1831: Assistant to Magistrate of Nuddea, 1810: Judge of Jessore, 1825: Judge of Patna, 1833. Died at Patna, January 5, 1835.

The Hon'ble M. T. Harris.—Writer on Madras establishment, 1799: Assistant to Collector of Ramnad and Tinnevelly, 1802. Principal Collector and Magistrate of Canara, 1822. Died May 17, 1824, at Mangalore. [2nd son of 1st Baron Harris of Seringapatam and Mysore, so created 1815: uncle of 3rd baron, Governor of Fort Saint George, 1854-59, and great-uncle of 4th baron, Governor of Bombay 1890-95].

C. Higginson.—Writer on Madras establishment, 1799. Head Assistant to the Secretary in the General Commercial Department, Fort Saint George, 1803. First Judge of the Provincial Court, Southern Division, 1824. Died July 18, 1824, at Trichinopoly.

H. W. Hobhouse.—Third Assistant to the Resident at Amboyna 1813: out of employ, 1814: proceeded to Europe, 1825. M. P. for Hertford, 1814: marr. in Calcutta Mary [d. 1879] daughter of John Palmer the "prince of merchants," and died 1808. [Father of Sir Charles Parry Hobhouse, 3rd baronet, B. C. S., 1844-1871: Judge of the High Court at Fort William].

H. Hodgson.—Fourth Judge of the City of Calcutta, 1817: 2nd Commissioner for investigating the claims of the Nawab of the Carnatic 1819: died December 28, 1822, at Fort St. George.

H. Hope.—Salt Agent at Jessore, 1820: Died October 7, 1822 at Mirzapore.

C. H. Hoppner.—Judge and Magistrate of the 24-Pergunnahs, 1818: proceeded to Europe, 1823: out of the Service, 1828. [Qy. son of John Hoppner, R. A.]

John Hunter.—Died July 12, 1810, at Calicut [Malabar].

J. R. Hutchinson.—Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, 1838: Died September 17, 1838, at Calcutta.

E. Impey.—Acting Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal at Moorshedabad, 1818: Suspended from his office, 1819 and proceeded to Europe:

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dismissed from the service in England, November 27, 1822. [Son of Sir Elijah Impey.]

H. Impey.—Died in Calcutta February 4, 1805. Elder son of Sir Elijah Impey.

G. E. J. Innes.—Died January 28, 1813.

P. Innes.—Died December 27, 1820, at Prince of Wales Island.

R. Jenkins.—On the Bombay Establishment: Resident at Nagpur, 1807-1827: retired 1828: M. P. for Shrewsbury, 1830-31, and 1837. Created G. C. B. 1838. Director East India Company, 1833-53 (Deputy Chairman 1838, Chairman 1839): Died December 30, 1853.

W. K. Jennings.—Magistrate of Patna, 1831: died March 31, 1837, at Patna.

H. G. Keene.—On the Establishment at Fort Saint George: cadet, 1798 and served at siege of Seringapatam. Transferred to Civil Service by the influence of his uncle Lord Harris; resigned his appointment 1811: Professor of Arabic at Hailybury 1824—1834: died January 23, 1864 [father of H. G. Keene, C. I. E., B. C. S., 1847—1882].

A. H. Kelso.—Writer on Madras establishment, 1800. Commissioner at Tranquebar, 1808. At home, out of the service 1811. Died June 11, 1853.

W. D. Kerr.—Died, July 13, 1817 at Allypore.

W. Lance.—Collector of Dacca, 1822 died: August 11, 1822, at Dacca.

E. C. Lawrence.—Judge of Provincial Court of appeal at Dacca, 1823: died May 15, 1824, on board the "Commodore Hayes" on passege to England.

T. Liell.—Died October 23, 1807 [Qy. at Chittagong.]

A. D. Lindsay.—First assistant to Commissioner of Nerbudda, 1818: died November 17, 1820, at Nursingpore.

The Hon'ble C. R. Lindsay.—Second son of 6th Earl of Balcarres and 23rd Earl of Crawford (Governor of Jamaica): Superintendent of Salt Chowkies at Tumlook, 1826: died July 4, 1835, at Singapore.

W. Lindsay.—Assistant to the Resident with Scindia, 1809: died December 6, 1810, in Scindia's camp at Nurwan.

W. Lock.—Agent to the G.-G. at Moorshedabad, 1823: died December 12, 1824, at Moorshedabad.

J. Lowther.—Register to Zillah of Shahabad, 1815: died September 2, 1815 at Chandernagore.

C. M. Lushington.—Writer on Madras establishment, 1801. Assistant to Register of Sudder and Faujdarry Adawlut at Fort Saint George, 1813. Chief Puisne Judge of Sudder and Faujdarry Adawlut and Member of Governor's Council, 1838. Member of Council and President of Revenue, Marine and College Boards, 1841. Resigned in India, 1843. Died March 8,

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1844, in England. [Brother of the Right Hon'ble Stephen Rumbold Lushington, (Madras Civil Service, 1790 to 1801) Governor of the Presidency of Fort Saint George from 1827 to 1835: died in 1868 at the age of 92. Another brother General Sir James Law Lushington, G. C. B. was a Director of the East India Company from 1827 to 1848, Deputy Chairman in 1837, 1841 and 1847 and Chairman in 1838, 1842 and 1848.]

A. Mackenzie.—Civil and Sessions Judge at Cawnpore, 1833: died July 30, 1833 at Cawnpore.

C. Mackenzie.—Superintendent of Sulkea Salt Golahs, 1836. died August 19, 1840, in Calcutta.

C. G. Mackenzie.—Died August 18, 1804, at Calcutta.

Holt Mackenzie.—President of the College at Fort William, 1825: Secretary to the Governor-General (Lord Amherst) on tour in the Upper Provinces: retired, 1833: Sworn of the Privy Council: Commissioner of the Board of Control, 1832—34: died March 31, 1876: is best remembered for his work as a Settlement Officer: the Settlement Regulation VII of 1822 which embodies his views has "immortalized the name of its founder."

M. McLeod.—Judge of the Provincial Court at Moorshedabad, 1825: died September 6, 1825, at Dinagepore.

F. Magniac.—Judge and Magistrate of the city of Moorshedabad, 1829: died July 15, 1830 at Moorshedabad.

C. Maidman:—Writer on Madras establishment, 1801. Assistant to the Commercial Resident at Ingeram 1803. Deputy Commercial Resident at Ingeram 1807. Died, August 29, 1824, at Ingeram.

T. Mainwaring.—Commercial Resident at Cossimbazar, 1831: died, May 6, 1835, on board the "Duke of Roxburgh."

E. Marjoribanks.—Commercial Resident at Hurripaul, 1831: out of employ., 1832: died June 1, 1833, at Calcutta.

[*N. B.* Campbell Marjoribanks was Director of the E. I. Co., 1807 to 1840 and Chairman in 1819].

W. B. Martin.—Resident at Hyderabad, 1825, at Delhi, 1830, and at Indore, 1832: Appointed Third Member of G.-G.'s Council 1835: but retired May 1, 1836, without joining.

G. Martin.—Died March 23, 1815, at Purnea.

F. Mason.—Resigned January 26, 1809, in India, and lost in the "*Calcutta*" March 14, 1809, on his passage to England.

E. Maxwell.—Judge of Provincial Court at Moorshedabad, 1874: died August 19, 1826, at Moorshedabad.

The Honb'le W. H. L. Melville.—Third son of 7th Earl of Leven and 6th Earl of Melville: Agent to G.-G. at Moorshedabad, 1824, and again in 1836: retired, 1838: Director of the East India Company, 1845—1855: died 1856.

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C. T. Metcalfe.—Resident at Delhi, 1811, at Hyderabad, 1820: Private Secretary to the Governor-General (the Marquess of Hastings) 1819: Member of the G.-G's Council, 1827: Vice-President and Deputy Governor of Bengal, 1830: Governor of the Presidency of Agra, 1834: Provisional Governor-General 1835: Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. P. 1836: retired 1838; succeeded to his father's Baronetcy, 1822: Governor of Jamaica, 1839-42: Governor-General of Canada, 1823-45: created a Peer, 1845: Died 1846. His bust and a portrait are in the Victoria Memorial Hall. Son of Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe Baronet, formerly a Major on the Bengal Establishment, Director of the East India Company, 1789—1812, who died, 1813.

T. T. Metcalfe.—Agent to G.-G. at Delhi, 1835: Died at Delhi, November 4, 1853 Succeeded his brother Lord Metcalfe as 4th Baronet, 1846: father of Sir Theophilus John Metcalfe, 5th Bart. C. B. (B. C. S. Magistrate at Delhi, 1857) and C. T. Metcalfe, C. S. I. (B. C. S.).

C. A. Molony.—Agent to G.-G., Saugor and Nerbudda Territories 1820:, Died September 13, 1824, at Saugor.

C. Monckton.—Died August 2, 1814, at the Cape of Good Hope.

P. Monckton.—Judge and Magistrate of Goruckpore: Died Jan. 6, 1820 at Goruckpore.

H. W. Money.—Collector of Govt. Customs and Town Duties at Dacca, 1822: Died August 4, 1825, at Dacca.

T. L. Monsell.—Died August 23, 1822, at Mymensing.

St. John Moore.—Died September 2, 1805, at Calcutta.

D. Morrieson.—Judge of Provincial Court of Appeal at Moorshedabad, 1819: Died, October 25, 1821 [Qy. at Moorshedabad].

H. Mortlock.—Writer on Madras Establishment, 1808. Assistant to Register of Sudder and Faujdarry Adawlut, 1810. Deputy Persian Translator to Government of Fort Saint George, 1819. Deputy Register of the Sudder Adawlut and Secretary to College Board, 1820. Resigned 1824. Died February 13, 1837 in England.

A. Murray.—Acting Collector at Saharunpore, 1817: Died February, 1819 (Qy. at Saharunpore).

C. Murray.—Assistant to the Resident at Fort Marlborough, 1807: Died Jan. 7, 1808, at Bencoolen.

W. Nisbet.—Export Warehouse Keeper, 1830: Died Sept. 10, 1833, at Garden Reach. (Monument in St. John's Church.) He was one of the first cadets to pass out of Haileybury.

H. Oakely.—Judge of the Provincial Court at Moorshedabad, 1826: Died May 2, 1826, at Monghyr.

W. Oliver.—Writer on Madras Establishment, 1800. Assistant to Register of Sudder and Foujdarry Adawlut, 1805. Member of Council and

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President of the Sudder Court, 1931. Retired 1836. Died August 2, 1846.

R. C. Parks.—Judge and Magistrate of Burdwan, 1817: Died at sea, November 23, 1818.

W. Paton.—Second Member of the Board of Revenue, L. P., 1823; Died August 19, 1824, at Chowringhee.

P. W. Pechell.—Judge of the Provincial Court at Dacca, 1818: died May 25, 1821, at Dacca.

R. Peter.—Writer on Madras Establishment, 1801. Assistant under Collector of Trichinoply, 1804. Principal Collector of Madura, 1825. Died August 6, 1828, at Madura.

W. Petrie.—Collector of Purnea, 1823: Died May 31, 1825, at Purnea.

G. A. C. Plowden.—Died November 16, 1804, in Calcutta: aged 18.

R. C. Plowden.—Salt Agent at Hidgellee, 1822: Died Sept. 21, 1825, at the Cape of Good Hope.

T. J. C. Plowden.—Salt Agent of the 24 Pergunnahs and Jessore, 1835 (Sheriff of Calcutta, 1827). Died July 6, 1836, on board the 'Hibernia' (Monument in St. John's Church.)

[Father of Trevor John Chichele Plowden, B. C. S. 1827-1860 and grand-father of Sir Trevor John Chichele Plowden, K. C. S. I., B. C. S. 1860 to 1900, Resident at Hyderabad for nine years.]

W. A. C. Plowden.—Died August 22, 1917, at Noacolly.

F. Pond.—Asst. to Salt Agent at Hidgellee, 1814: Died December 13, 1819, at Calcutta.

T. du P. Porcher.—Resigned the Service and entered the firm of Messrs. Alexander and Co., 1807. Died September 25, 1812, at Calcutta.

W. P. Potts.—Died October 10, 1806, at Furruckabad.

R. J. Powell.—Collector of Land Revenue and Customs Chittagong, 1813: Died April 9, 1814 at Chowringhee.

H. T. Prinsep.—Assistant to the Secretary with the G.-G. (the Marquess of Hastings) in his tour to the Upper Provinces, 1817: on duty with the G.-G. (Lord William Bentinck) on his tour to the Western Provinces, 1830; Secretary to the Govt. of India, General, Foreign, and Finance Depts.; 1834: tempy. Member, G.-G.'s Council, 1835: Member G.-G,'s Council 1840: Member of the Committee of Public Instruction, 1840: President of the Council of Education, 1842: retired March 1, 1843. Director of the East India Company, 1850-58: Member, Secretary of State's Council, 1860-74. Died Feb. 11, 1878: was one of the chief founders of the Bengal Civil Fund. [His bust is in the Calcutta Town Hall] Son of John Prinsep M. P. founder of indigo industry in Bengal: brother of James Prinsep (Prinsep's Ghât) and C. R. Prinsep Advocate-General of Bengal, 1852-55: father of Sir Henry Thoby Prinsep,

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K. C. I. E., B. C. S., 1855-1904, Judge of the High Court at Fort William, 1878-1904, the last of the "Haileybury Men."

H. Puller.—Judge and Magistrate of Rungpore, 1812: died November 15, 1813, at Rungpore.

R. H. Rattray.—Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at the Presidency, 1827. Died in Calcutta, 1860. Author of *The Exile* and other poems. Designed the buildings of La Martinière in Calcutta.

W. Rennell.—Collector of Govt. Customs and Town duties at Furuckabad: died July 25, 1819, at Futtyghur. [Son of Major James Rennell and Jane Thackeray: referred to in the "Farington Diary:"]

G. Richardson.—Commercial Resident at Rungpore, 1823: died July 21, 1826, at Berhampore.

M. Ricketts.—Agent to the G.-G. at Moorshedabad, 1818: Resident at Lucknow, 1822-29. Retired 1830.

T. C. Robertson.—Agent to G.-G. on N. E. Frontier, 1831; second Member G.-G.'s Council, 1838: President of the Council and Deputy Governor of Fort William, 1839: Lieutenant-Governor, N.-W. P., 1840-42: retired 1843: died July 6, 1863

G. Robinson.—Died October 12, 1812, in Calcutta, from a fall from his horse.

A. Ross.—Resident at Delhi, 1822-23: Member, G.-G.'s Council, 1833: Provisional Governor of Agra, 1835: President of G.-G.'s Council and Deputy Governor of Fort William, 1837. Retired 1838.

F. W. Russell.—Civil and Sessions Judge of Hooghly, 1841: Salt Agent at Chittagong: died March 25, 1842 at Chittagong. [Third son of Sir Henry Russel, 1st Baronet, Chief Justice of Bengal, 1807—1813].

S. Salter.—Collector of Purnea, 1819: died September 19, 1822 at Calcutta.

H. Sargent.—Second Member, Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, 1826: died April 24, 1834, at the Cape of Good Hope.

J. L. Savage.—Died August 29, 1808, at Calcutta.

D. Scott (I).—Agent to G.-G. on the N.-E. Frontier, 1823: died August 20, 1831, at Cherra Poonjee.

D. Scott (II).—Collector of Burdwan, 1826: retired 1838.

W. Scott.—Deputy Collector of Govt. Customs at Calcutta, 1802: lost in ship *Calcutta* March 14, 1809 "parted company from the fleet off the Mauritius and not since heard of" together with the *Lady Jane Dundas* and the *Jane Duchess of Gordon.*

H. Shakespear.—Third ordinary Member of G.-G.'s Council, 1835: died March 20, 1838, in Calcutta.

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J. T. Shakespear.—Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlat, 1821: died April 12, 1825 at the Cape of Good Hope. [Married Emily Thackeray who died of cholera, at Calcutta, 1824: and was father of Col. Sir Richmond Shakespear, 1812-1861].

H. Shaw.—Writer on Madras Establishment, 1801. Assistant to the Principal Collector in the Ceded Districts, 1803. Subordinate Collector in the Ceded Districts, 1807. Died February 11, 1808, at Bellary.

J. Shum.—Superintendent of Salt Chowkies at Behar, 1823, died March 15, 1828, at Patna.

Francis Curwen Smith.—Writer on Madras Establishment, 1805. Removed to Bengal Establishment, 1807. Agent to Governor-General, Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, 1829. Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, 1837. Retired, 1840.

W. Smith.—Judge and Magistrate of Ramghur, 1819: died October 3, 1821 (Qy. at Ramghur.)

Jas. Smyth.—Writer on Madras Establishment, 1801. No further trace.

W. H. C. Smyth.—Resigned October 1807 in India.

J. Sparks.—Resigned January 3, 1815 in India.

H. Spottiswoode.—Writer on Madras Establishment, 1801. Acting Register of Zillah of Viz agapatam, 1804. Collector of Madras and Superintendent of Stationery, 1819. Died April 4, 1820, on passage to Cape of Good Hope.

J. Sprot.—Asst. to Salt Agent at Bullooah and Chittagong, 1810: died June 29, 1813, at Chittaagong.

C. W. Steer.—Commissioner of Revenue, Bauleah Division, 1835: proceeded to Europe 1837: returned 1839: dismissed the Service December 1, 1841.

R. Stuart.—Third Asst. to Resident at Amboyna, 1813: First Asst. to Resident at Khatmandoo 1818; died March 14, 1820 (Qy. at Khatmandoo).

W. T. Swetenham—Died December 9, 1802, at Berhampore.

John Sullivan.—Writer on Madras Establishment, 1804. Assistant Under-Secretary to Government, Revenue and Judicial Departments at Fort Saint George, 1805. Member of Governor's Council and President of Revenue and Marine Boards, 1839. Retired 1841. Died in England, January 16, 1858.

G. Swinton.—Persian Secretary to G.-G. (Merquess of Hastings) 1814: Chief Secretary to Government 1827: tempy. Member of G.-G.'s Council, 1828 and again in 1832: retired 1833.

R. Thackeray.—Collector of the 24-Pergunnahs, 1811; died at Alipore, September 13, 1815. [Married Anne Becher. Father of William Makepeace Thackeray].

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R. M. Tilghman.—On deputation with the G.-G. (Lord Wm. Bentinck) in the Western Provinces, 1829: Commissioner of the Humeerpore Division, 1333: died June 1, 1834 at Humeerpore

W. H. Tippett.—Judge and Magistrate of the city of Patna, 1816: died July 6, 1824, at sea on board the *Berwickshire.*

H. L. Toone.—Died, April 1, 1811 [Qy. in Calcutta]. [Sweny Toone, Director of East India Co., 1800-1830].

W. Trower.—Third Member, Board of Revenue, L. P., 1822: died September 24, 1825, at Calcutta.

A. F. Tytler.—Register of the 24-Pergunnahs, 1812: died Feb. 12, 1816 at Sea.

R. Vansittart.—Collector of Midnapore, 1824, resigned in India, 1815: and died at Cheltenham, 1838.

H. Wakeman.—Died September 28, 1808 [Qy. at Calcutta]

J. Walker.—Deputy Register, Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, 1807: died October, 18, 1808. at Calcutta.

R. Walpole.—Judge of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, 1832: died Sept. 16, 1834 at the Cape of Good Hope.

Hon'ble J. P. Ward.—Commissioner of the Monghyr Division, 1833: retired 1837. 2nd son of 1st Viscount Bangor: father of Sir W. E. Ward, K. C. S. I., Chief Commissioner of Assam, 1888-1891.

R. A. Ward.—Died August 24, 1816, at Cuttack.

J. T. Watson.—Died October 30, 1805, at Sandwip.

J. Wauchope.—Agent to G.-G. at Rohilcund and Saugor, 1818; died August 12, 1818, at Kallengurh.

G. Wellesley.—Resident at Indore, 1818—1825: furlough to Europe, 1831: died in England July 22, 1833.

M. T. Whish.—Offg. Judge and Magistrate of Bareilly, 1819: died May 19, 1821, at Almora.

E. Wood.—Writer on Madras Establishment, 1800. Persian Translator to Sudder Court at Fort Saint George, 1803. Chief Secretary to Government, 1820. Died May 28, 1824, at Madras.

H. A. Williams.—Commercial Resident at Jungypore 1819: died October 6, 1828, at Serampore.

R. O. Wynne.—Judge of the Provincial Court at Dacca, 1820: died August 11, 1821, at Dacca.

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SECRETARIES TO THE COLLEGE.

I

WILLIAM MACDOUGALL.

BENGAL ENGINEERS.

Cadet of 1796—

Ensign	15th January 1799.
Lieutenant...	15th April 1806.

1800-02.—Serving at the Presidency.

1803-07.—Assistant Hindustani Professor, College of Fort William.

1807, May.—Appointed Secretary to the Council of the College.

Died at Calcutta on the 16th September 1807, aged 27 years.

Buried in the South Park Street Cemetery, where there is or was an inscription to his memory.—*Vide Bengal Obituary*, page 91.

II

ABRAHAM LOCKETT.

BENGAL INFANTRY.

Cadet of 1800—

Ensign	19th November 1801.
Lieutenant	30th September 1803.
Captain	26th August 1815.
Major	12th January 1825.
Lieutenant-Colonel	21st January 1829.

1801-04.—Serving in the 2nd Battalion, 14th Native Infantry.

With that corps he served in the defence of Delhi against Holkar in September and October 1804, and particularly in the sortie of the 1st October, for his services on which occasion he received special mention in Colonel Ochterlony's Report and in Lord Lake's General Orders. He subsequently took part in the defence of Shamli and in the defeat of the Sikhs under Sher Singh at Deoband, 23rd November 1804.

Early in 1805 he was attached to the Corps of Pioneers at the abortive siege of Bharatpur, and was wounded in the third assult on that fortress, 20th February 1805.

1805-08.—Served at various stations with the 1st and 2nd Battalions of the 14th Native Infantry.

1808.——Appointed Examiner, College of Fort William and continued in that employment until.

1811, Novr.—When he was appointed Examiner and Assistant Secretary.

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1812-19.—There is no information at present available regarding this officer during this period, but he is supposed to have been for a part of the time (1817-19) on field service against the Mahrattas and Pindarris in Central India.

1819-20.—With his battalion (1/14th Native Infantry) in the Saugor Field Force.

1821-22.—Secretary to the Council of the College of Fort William.

1823.—Removed to the newly formed 2nd Battalion 32nd Native Infantry. Continued as Secretary to the Council, and was Aide-de-Camp to the Governor-General in addition.

1823-24.—Secretary to the College of Fort William. Posted to the 63rd Native Infantry on the re-organisation of 1824 taking place.

1824-25.—Assistant to the Resident at Lucknow.

1825-27.—Deputy Secretary to the Government, Military Department, but was absent most of the time on political duty during this period he served at the siege and capture of Bharatpur as an extra Aide-de-Camp to Lord Combermere.

1827-31.—Governor-General's Agent at Bharatpur. (On promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel in 1829 he was removed from the 63rd to the 19th Native Infantry, and in 1830 to the 69th Native Infantry.)

1831-32.—Superintendent of and Political Agent at Ajmere.

1832-33—Agent to the Governor-General for the States of Rajputana and Commissioner for Ajmere. (Removed from the 69th Native Infantry to the Bengal European Regiment, and afterwards in succession to the 33rd, 16th and 58th Native Infantry).

1834.—Went on leave to the Cape of Good Hope in February 1834, and was shortly afterwards nominated Resident at Nagpore, but died at the Cape on the 10th May 1834.

III

ARCHIBALD GALLOWAY.

BENGAL INFANTRY.

Cadet of 1799—	
Ensign	29th October 1800.
Lieutenant	18th May 1802.
Captain	19th December 1812.
Major	1st May 1824.
Lieutenant-Colonel	6th March 1826.
Colonel	22nd September 1836.
Major-General	23rd November 1841.

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1802-07.—Served in the 2nd Battalion 14th Native Infantry (There is no written record on the subject, but as he appers to have been present with his battalion during the whole of this period; he probably took part in the defence of Delhi against Holkar in 1804, in the affair of Shamli, and in the operations of 1804-05 under Colonel William Burn against the Sikhs in the Saharanpur District).

1808-12.—Serving as Adjutant and Quarter-Master of the 14th Native Infantry.

1812-19.—There is no information available at present regarding this officer during this period, but it is probable that for a part of it he was on field service in Central India against the Mahrattas and Pindaris.

1819-20.—Serving with the 1st Battalion, 4th Native Infantay in the Saugor Field Force.

1821-29.—Employed as Agent for Gunpowder at Ishapore (during this period he was promoted to Major in the 29th Native Infantry and afterwards to Lieutenant-Colonel in the 2nd Native Infantry.)

1829-30.—Employed as Refiner of Saltpetre at Ishapore (removed to the 46th and afterwards to the 10th Native Infantry).

1830-35.—Member of the Military Board (removed to the 55th Native Infantry in 1833).

Went home on furlough in March 1835 and never afterwards returned to India.

Was made C. B. in 1838 and K. C. B. in 1848.

Died in London 6th April 1850, being then Colonel of the 58th Native Infantry. Director of the E. I. Co. from 1842 to 1849 (Deputy Chairman 1848: Chairman, 1849.)

IV.

THOMAS ROEBUCK.

MADRAS INFANTRY.

Born December, 1784.

Cadet of 1800—		
Ensign		
Lieutenant		20th July 1801.
Captain		11th April 1815.

Served for many years in the 1st Battalion, 17th Madras Native Infantry.

He died at Calcutta on the 8th December 1819, and is buried in the South Park Street Cemetery (See *Bengal Obituary*, page 142).

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V.

DAVID RUDDELL.

BENGAL INFANTRY.

Cadet of 1806—

Ensign	...	...	...	20th March 1808.
Lieutenant	...	...	...	31st August 1813.
Brevet Captain	...	...	...	4th September 1822.
Captain	...	...	...	13th July 1825.

1809-12.—Employed with the Bengal European Regiment, part of the time in Java and the Eastern islands.

1813-18.—Nothing on record.

1819-20.—Serving with the Ramgarh Battalion.

1821-22.—Assistant Hindustani Professor and Examiner, College of Fort William.

1823.—The same, and Aide-de-Camp to the Governor-General in addition.

1824.—Professor, College of Fort William.

1824-32.—Secretary, College of Fort William.

1832-35.—On furlough in Europe.

Was returning to India through Persia, when he died at Shiraz on the 16th December 1835, aged 45. (See *Bengal Obituary*, page 395).

VI.

HUGH TODD.

BENGAL INFANTRY.

Cadet of 1819—

Ensign	...	...	...	1st June 1821.
Lieutenant	...	...	...	1st May 1824.

1821-23.—Served in the 1st Battalion, 10th Native Infantry.

1823-24.—Served in the 1st Battalion, 9th Native Infantry.

1824.—Lieutenant in the 21st Native Infantry.

1825-31.—Examiner, College of Fort William.

1832 January.—Appointed Secretary to the College of Fort William.

Died at Calcutta, 21st March 1832.

VII.

JOSEPH WALKER JASPER OUSELEY.

BENGAL INFANTRY.

Cadet of 1818—

Ensign	...	...	...	
Lieutenant	...	...	...	1st January 1821.

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Captain	...	...	...	8th April 1827.
Major	...	...	...	30th November 1840.
Lieutenant-Colonel	...	...	...	11th March 1847, afterwards cancelled.

1821-23.—Serving with the 1st Battalion, 14th Native Infantry.
1823-32.—Examiner, College of Fort William.
1832-38.—Secretary and Librarian to the College of Fort William.
1838-44.—Superintendent of the affairs of the Mysore Princes; Secretary to the Calcutta Madrassa and to the Law Examination Committee and Persian Translator to Government.

Went home on furlough in 1844 and during his absence he was promoted (11th March 1847) to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and posted to the 40th Native Infantry, but this was eventually cancelled, and he retired as a Major with effect from the 17th September 1846.

Died in England, 19th October 1889.

VIII.

GEORGE TURNBULL MARSHALL.

BENGAL INFANTRY.

Cadet of 1821—

Ensign	...	...	...	1st December 1821.
Lieutenant	...	...	...	11th September 1823.
Captain	...	...	...	21st August 1831.
Brevet-Major	...	...	...	9th November 1846.
Major	...	...	...	11th March 1847.
Lieutenant-Colonel	...	...	...	17th November 1852.

1821-25.—Served in the 1st Battalion, 17th Native Infantry.
1825-26.—Removed to the 35th Native Infantry, and with that corps served at the siege and capture of Bharatpur.
1826-27.—Served with the 35th Native Infantry.
1828.—Acting Interpreter and Quarter-Master of the 11th N. I.
1829-31.—Interpreter and Quarter-Master of the 35th N. I.
1832-38.—Examiner, College of Fort William.
1838-52.—Examiner and Secretary, College of Fort William.

Left for Home on medical certificate towards the end of 1854, sailing in the Ship *Nile*, but died at sea on the 10th December 1854.

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The Office of Sheriff of Calcutta.

THE earliest mention of a Sheriff of Calcutta is found in the records preserved at the India Office: and it is contained in a letter "sent per Bridgwater and Walpole. London, 17th February, 1726—27" to "Our President and Council of Fort William in Bengall" by "Your Loving Friends," the Court of Directors (Henry Lyell, Chairman and 18 others). It is stated therein (Court Letter Book, Vol. 207):—

1. Upon Application made to His Majesty, We have obtain'd His Majesty's Royal Charter for Our Settlements at Madraspatnam at Calcutta at Fort William in Bengall and at Bombay in the East Indies to enable Us by virtue thereof to have Our affairs in all those Places and within the Districts therein mention'd, as also in all the Subordinate Factoryes at those Presidencys managed with greater authority than ever hitherto, We apply'd to get the Management of the Civil Affairs as near as We could agreeable to the Practice and Methods of the Mayor's Court at Fort Saint George, which have continued for many Years, and as You will see in the said Charter (of which We send you by the Bridgwater an Exemplification under the Great Seal of this Kingdom) It begins and goes through first with all the Powers and authoritys granted and Rules prescribed for that place, And then proceeds to create the like Courts and give the same Rules for Our Settlements at Bombay and Fort William.

2. The said Charter appoints an Annual Sheriff to be chosen to be the last of your Council, and to return all the Processes of the Court (and nominates nine Persons to be the Court of Mayor and Aldermen, and as such a Court to Try all Civil Causes that may happeu) To bring into Court all Persons complain'd of, To hold them Bail or confine them and on being empower'd by Warrants to Seiz and sell the Effects to make satisfaction to the several Persons, who by Decree of the Court on hearing the Cause have any Summs of money adjudg'd to be due to them. And in this the said Court have by the Charter a Power to frame Rules of Practice in the Proceedings.

* * * *

14. As the Charter directs a Sheriff to be annually elected, so it directs other Officers to be chosen as well in the Court of Mayor

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and Aldermen as in that of Oyer and Terminer (1), but as you have a great many Covenanted Servants, We hope they may serve the purposes of both without appointing any other English People into them, or any of them. We would have those most fit at present, or such as are most likely to be so by time and practice to be first put in, wherein one Person may possibly fill up two or more Stations, and though the business they are likely to be employ'd in will be but very little and seldom, Yet as they may think it hard to officiate without some reward for their labour. Therefore We hereby direct You to appoint proper Fees according to their different employments. But be sure to take care that they be very moderate and suited to the Circumstances of the People, who are many of them very poor and can't bear the paying of such as We may here Account but small Fees, Whereto We desire You will have a great regard and send Us a Table of the respective Fees in all Cases for our Inspection and Judgment.

This communication duly reached Calcutta: and the following action was taken thereon:—

Bengal Public Consultations, Range 1, Vol. 6.

Extract from Consultation of Monday, 28th August 1727.

Fort William, August 1727.

The Box containing the new Charter, etc., Law Books come Per Ship Bridgwater being come on shore was now open'd.

The Hon'ble Company's Genl. Letter, dated 17th February, 1726—27, relating to the Charter was now read a second time and very seriously considered in all its Paragraphs.

Whereas Mr. John Sainsbury Lloyd who is nominated in the Charter to be Mayor and several of the Aldermen named therein are absent

Pursuant to the tenour of the Charter we have appointed the following Persons to be the modern Mayor Sheriff and Aldermen, *viz*:—

Charles Hampton, Esqr., Mayor ... *Mayor*
Mr. Thomas Braddyll ... *Sheriff*.

(1) The Charter gave the President and Senior Five of the Council power to "act as Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, To hold Quarter Sessions, and to proceed to try hear and punish, in all Criminal Cases, Except only of High Treason, as Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer do in England appointing and Summoning Grand and Petty Jurys for the purpose."

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Messrs.	John Bowkett ...	Aldermen
,,	Thomas Coates ...	
,,	Thomas Cooke ...	
,,	Henry Harnett ...	
,,	Robert Frankland ...	
,,	James Nevile ...	
,,	William Bruce ...	
,,	Matthew Wesley ...	
,,	Geo. Mandeville ...	

To Thomas Braddyll therefore belongs the honour of being the first Sheriff of Calcutta. He was subsequently President and Governor of Fort William from 1738 to 1745.

In 1753 the Charter granted in 1726 was surrendered and a new Charter granted. It is at this period that we come across the earliest reference to the office of Sheriff of Calcutta in the Imperial Record Department of the Government of India : and it is connected with the name of James Valicourt (1752) :—

Public Department Consultation, dated 9th October, 1752.

Sheriff's Note for September.

James Valicourt Esqr., Sheriff sent in his note for the Allowance due to him and his Officers for the Month of Sept. which amounting to C[ompany's] Rs. 110.

Agreed that the President do pay the same.

No other papers can be traced regarding this appointment. The immediate successors of Valicourt were Thomas Coales (1752, also a second time in 1755) John Cooke (1753 and 1754) and William Lindsay (1756).

Public Department Consultation, dated 22nd January, 1753.

Thomas Coales, Esqr., Sheriff now sent in his Bill for the Allowances due to him and his Officer for the month of December amounting to C. Rs. 120-2-3.

Ordered the President do pay the same out of the cash.

Public Department, Consultation, dated 6th December, 1753.

The Corporation now waited on the Board and acquainted them, they had as his Majesties late Charter directed elected two of their Members (Messrs. William Nixon and Bartholomew Plaisted) to be return'd to them for their choice of one to be Sworn into the office of Mayor.

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Agreed Mr. William Nixon be Sworn in to the office of Mayor on the 20th Instant.

Agreed Mr. John Cooke be Sworn into the office of Sheriff on the same day.

Public Department Consultation, dated 5th December, 1754.
Mr. Coales Appd. Sheriff.

Agreed Mr. Thos. Coales be appointed Sheriff.

Public Department Consultation, dated 2 December, 1755.

The Board thought proper to appoint Mr. Henry Kelsall to serve another year in the Office of Mayor of this Town and that Mr. William Lindsay be appointed to serve the office of Sheriff for then [*sic*] ensuing year.

Valicourt and Coales were senior merchants who perished in the Black Hole, and their names are inscribed on the memorial obelisk. Cooke is the "Secretary Cooke" who survived the tragedy and supplied the historian Robert Orme with materials. Of their successors up to the date of the Establishment of the Supreme Court by the Charter of 1774, Stanlake Batson, who was Sheriff in 1757, survives in history for that in 1763 he struck Warren Hastings in the face at the old Council House which stood in close proximity to the original Fort William. Culling Smith the Sheriff of 1759-1760, arrived in Bengal in 1749, and was assistant in the Storekeeper's office in 1756, being then twenty three years old. He was one of those who escaped with Roger Drake in the ships during the siege. At the age of seventy he achieved a Baronetcy and lived on until 1812. His wife was a sister of Lord Wellesley: and their daughter was the great-great-grandmother of Erskine Childers, who has achieved such sinister fame in twentieth century Irish history. The houses of Coales, Cooke, and Smith are shown in the map of Calcutta prepared by Lieutenant William Wills in 1753. Cooke lived on the site of the Royal Exchange in Clive Street, and Clive and Francis lived there after him. Smith's house was at the southern end of what is now Council House Street, and its compound wall ran flush with the creek which flowed along the modern Hastings Street. Coales lived next to Omichund in what we call Lyons Range.

William Rider (1758) married Anna Holwell on March 31, 1759, and died in Calcutta on November 28, whereupon his widow married on July 15,

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1760, Martin Yorke, who may have been the young Ensign who distinguished himself in the action at Chitpore during the siege of Calcutta. The name of Rider himself occurs in the list of "Gentlemen in the Company's service who escaped from the disaster of 1756 in the ships to Fulta." His death was due to wounds received in the decisive battle fought against the Dutch by Colonel Francis Forde at Biderra (near Chinsurah) where he was in command of an independent company of Volunteers. Edward Baber (1769), was Secretary to the Council at Fort William. Simeon Droz (1768) was Deputy Secretary to the Council in September 1767 and in the following November appears as Secretary. He became Chief at Patna in 1769 and was Secretary and Accountant to the Council of Revenue for Behar in February 1770. William Majendie (1765) was among the Civil Servants suspended by the Board in 1766 for having addressed a petition of protest to them against the appointment to Council by Lord Clive of four "senior merchants" from Fort Saint George. "The most active in the affair," we read, "were Mr. Tho: French, Mr. Geo. Vansitart, Mr. Majendie, the Traders and Senior Writers." Majendie was subsequently reinstated by the Court of Directors and was Second in Council at Patna when he died there in 1769 at the age of 26. Lionel Darell (1770) was created a baronet in 1795 and was a Director of the East India Company from 1780 until his death in 1803.

THE CHARTER OF 1774.

The Charter of 1774 laid down that "the person who shall be the Sheriff at Fort William in Bengal at the time of the publication of this our charter, in manner hereinafter directed, shall be and continue the Sheriff until another shall be duly appointed." The following is an extract from the Letters Patent, "establishing a Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, bearing date the twenty sixth day of March, in the fourteenth year of the reign of George the Third":—

> And we do further, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, grant, ordain, and appoint that the Person, who shall be Sheriff at Fort William in Bengal, at the time of the publication of this Our Charter, in Manner hereinafter directed, shall be and continue the Sheriff, until another shall be duly appointed and sworn into the said office: And We do further, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, grant, direct and appoint, that the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort Willam in Bengal, shall, upon the first Tuesday of December, in every year, nominate Three Persons, resident in the Town of Calcutta, or the Precincts thereof, to the Governor-General and Council, or the major part of them, who, within three

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days after such Nomination, shall appoint one of the said three persons to serve the office of Sheriff, for the year ensuing, to be computed from the twentieth day of December next after such appointment; which Sheriff shall, as soon as conveniently may be, and before he shall enter upon his said office, take an Oath, faithfully to execute his Office, and the Oath of Allegiance before the Governor-General or, in his Absence, the Senior Member of the Council there present, who are hereby respectively authorised to administer the same; and shall continue in such Office, during the space of One Whole Year; to be computed from the said Twentieth day of December, and until another shall be duly appointed and sworn into the said Office, and in case such Sheriff shall die in his office, or depart from the Province of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, then another Person shall and may, as soon as conveniently may be, after the Death or Departure of Sheriff, be in like manner nominated, appointed and sworn in as aforesaid and shall continue in his office for the Remainder of the year, or until another Sheriff shall be duly appointed and sworn into the said Office; and We do further order, direct and appoint that the said Sheriff, and his Successors, shall by themselves, or their sufficient Deputies to be by them appointed, and duly authorised, under their respective Hands and Seals, and for whom he and they shall be responsible, during his or their continuance in such Office and he and they are hereby authorised to execute all the Writs, Summons, Rules, Orders, Warrants, Commands, and Process of the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, and make return of the same, together with the Execution thereof, to the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, and to receive and detain in Prison such persons as shall be committed to him for that purpose by the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal and by the Chief Justice and Justices respectively. And we further direct ordain and appoint that whenever the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal shall direct or award any process against the said Sheriff, or award any process in any Cause, Matter or Thing, wherein the said Sheriff on Account of his being related to the Parties or any of them, or by Reason of any good Cause of Challenge which would be allowed against any Sheriff, in that Part of Great Britain called England cannot by law execute the same, in every such case, the said Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bangal, shall name and appoint some other fit Person to execute and return the

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same; and the said process shall be directed to the said Person, so named for that Purpose; and the cause of such special Proceeding shall be suggested, and entered on the Records of the same.

In pursuance of these provisions, Mr. Alexander Mackrabie, the brother-in-law and private Secretary of Philip Francis, was appointed in December, 1774, to be the first Sheriff of Calcutta under the Charter: but not without the usual difference of opinion in Council:

Public Department Bodysheet, dated 9th December, 1774.

The Board now proceeding upon the choice of one of the 3 persons returned to them on the 6th instant by the Supreme Court of Judicature to serve the office of Sheriff for the ensuing year.

The Govr.-Genl. proposes that Mr. Swainston be appointed to that office.

The General [Clavering] is for Mr. Mackrabie.

Coll. Monson the same.

Mr. Barwell confirms the Governor's proposition.

Mr. Francis gives his vote for Mr. Mackrabie.

Mr. Mackrabie being elected Sheriff by a Majority of the Board agreed that notice be given to him to attend the Board to be sworn accordingly.

Ordered that the Secretary attend the Supreme Court of Judicature with the following Resolutions, *viz.*,

At a Council held in Fort William the 9th December, 1774.
Willm. Swainston, Esq.
Willm. Tryon, Esq.
And Alexander Mackrabie Esq.,

having been presented the 6th instant by the Supreme Court to this Board for the appointment of one of the said three persons to serve the office of Sheriff for the year ensuing,

Resolved that Alexander Mackrabie be appointed to the said office.

Resolved that this notification be delivered to the Supreme Court of Judicature by the Secretary and that the Secy. be further directed to apply to the Chief Justice for his advice in what manner and at what time this notification shall be made.

The indexes and press-lists from 1775 to 1777 have been examined but no further papers regarding Mackrabie can be traced. We know, however, that he died at Ganjam, in the Northern Circars, on December 19, 1775: and although there is no record in the Sherff's office of the execution of Nuncomar on August 5, 1775, we know also that he was

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present, for he wrote an account which may be read *in extenso* in Dr. Busteed's *Echoes from old Calcutta.*

There are papers regarding the appointment of Mackrabie's immediate successors, Blastus Godly Wright (1776) William Wodsworth (1777) and John Richardson (1777).

Original Consultations, Public, 5th December, 1776, No. 23.

Revenue Department.

Mr. Pritchard attend the Bd. deliver the follg. Message from the Supreme Court.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I am ordered by the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal to attend and acquaint you that the Court do nominate to You—

Mr. Blastus Godly Wright, a Senior Merchant,
Mr. Charles Goring, a Senior Merchant,
Mr. Richard Johnson, a Factor,

being each of them qualified to serve the Office of Sheriff that you may appoint one of them to serve for the Year ensuing.

Tuesday 3rd Decr. 1776.

RESOLVED that Mr. Blastus Godly Wright be elected Sheriff.

Extract from the General Letters to the Court of Directors, dated 6th January, 1777.

6. After the Departure of Mr. Blastus Godley Wright whom we had elected Sheriff for the Year, in the Shrewsbury, the Supreme Court proceeded to a new Nomination and returned to us Mr. William Wodsworth, Mr. Page Keble, and Mr. Richard Johnson. We appointed the former to serve the Office of the Sheriff for the prssent Year.

Fort William, the 29th December, 1777.

The following Message being delivered from the Supreme Court of Judicature by the Clerk of the Crown on the 30th December when the Board where (*sic*) met in the Revenue Department, is ordered to be recorded in this place.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I am Ordered by the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, at attend and acquaint you that the Court doth nominate to you Mr. David Kellican, Mr. John Fergusson, and Mr. John

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Richardson, being each of them qualified to serve the Office of Sheriff that you may appoint one of them to serve for the Remainder of the Year for which John Bristow was appointed, or until another Sheriff shall be duly appointed and sworn into his Office. The said John Bristow having departed the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa,

RESOLVED that Mr. Richardson be appointed Sheriff for the Remainder of the Year.

In the second volume of *Bengal: Past & Present* (p 418) *fac-similes* of the signatures of Mackrabie and several of his immediate successors in the office of Sheriff are given, The document in which they are contained, and which was supplied by Lieut.-Colonel (now Sir) W. J. Buchanan, I. M. S., would appear to be the first page of the Register of Persons taking the Oath of Allegiance upon assumption of office. It is headed: "Oath of Allegiance" —I. A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty. So help me God." The following is a list of the signatures, in the order in which they are written: —

Warren Hastings.	Jno. Richardson, 1st Jan. 1776
J. Clavering.	Alexr. Van Rixtel 13th Dec. 79
Geo. Monson.	John Mcpherson, 1st October, 1761.
Richd. Barwell.	Jeremiah Church.
P. Francis.	P. Yonge.
Eyre Coote (in margin).	John Stables.
Alex. Mackrabie, Sheriff.	Chas. Stuart.
S. Montaigut, Sheriff.	Ro. Sloper.
W. Atkinson, Coroner.	Cornwallis.
W. Wodsworth, Jany. 3rd 1777.	J. Shore.
Edw. Wheler.	Alured Clarke.

For many years after the Charter of 1774, as before, the office of Sheriff of Calcutta was conferred almost exclusive ly upon the Company's servants, with here and there an advocate or a merchant, William Wodsworth (1777), subsequently became Resident at Balasore and died there on August 28, 1791. John Bristow (1777) who held the office for a few weeks, is best remembered as the husband of Miss Emma Wrangham, whom he married at Chinsurah on May 27, 1782, and who figures in Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* as "Turban Conquest the Chinsura Belle." Bristow was a constant attendant at the levees of Francis and it was through the votes of the majority in Council that he was sent to Lucknow as Resident in 1774 on Nathaniel Middleton's recall, after the Rohilla war. He was recalled by Hastings in December 1776, directly the death of Colonel Monson restored him to power, Thereafter he

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was constantly being re-appointed and recalled until December 31, 1783, when he was finally removed from the office. John Richardson, (1777-78) his immediate successor, appears subsequently to have received a knighthood. Sir John Hadley D'Oyly (1779) is of course the friend of Warren Hastings, whose experiences in England after his retirement are so fully detailed in the Farington Diary. John Hare (1782) figures prominently in the Letters of Mrs. Eliza Fay, and there are allusions also to him in the first volume of the Memoirs of William Hickey. The following extract from the "Fort Saint George Military Country Correspondence" (Vol. XXIX, pp. (22-23) relates to his early adventures:—"14th February [1780]. Copy of a letter from the Governor [Sir Thomas Rumbold] to Hyder Ally, requesting the release of Mr. Hare and ten other Europeans who were imprisoned in Calicut by Sader Cawn." Thereafter he came to Calcutta and prospered as an advocate: but not for long. His name suddenly disappears from the note-books of Mr. Justice Hyde, and the reason therefor is given by Mr. William Digges LaTouche, Resident at Bussora, in a letter addressed by him to "the gentlemen of the Council at Fort William" on May 1, 1784 (Original Consultations, ; 8th November, 1784, No. I duplicate): "With the greatest concern I inform you that Mr. John Hare who arrived here the 3rd February by the *Bombay* snow and who departed the 24th March for Aleppo by way of Bagdad, was attacked robbed and murdered by the Arabs between this and Hilla." Jeremiah Church (1783) was another advocate, who died in Calcutta in 1788.

Another distinguished member of the legal profession was Francis Macnaghten (1797) who was enrolled as an advocate of the Supreme Court in 1791, and subsequently became Advocate-General. In 1807 he was appointed to be a puisne judge at Madras, and was transferred to Calcutta in March, 1216, on the retirement of Sir William Burroughs. He acted as Chief Justice in 1823 on the death of Sir Henry Blosset, and again in 1824 after the death of Sir Christopher Puller, both victims of the Calcutta climate whose combined tenure of office did not exceed four months. His popularity in Calcutta was very great, and when he resigned his seat on the Bench in March, 1825, and sailed for England "he was accompanied to Chandpal Ghat by Sir Anthony Buller (the junior puisne judge), the Barristers, Attorneys, and Officers of the Court, and a large concourse of the community, and certainly a more honourable tribute could not be paid to anyone." He was created a baronet in 1836, having four years previously succeeded to the family estates in Ulster and the chieftainship of Clan Macnaghten: and died in 1843. His portrait by George Chinnery hangs in the Chief Justice's Court. William Hay Macnaghten (1825) was his eldest son. He was appointed to a writership on the Bengal Establishment in 1814 and was Register of the Court of Sudder

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Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut at the time of his nomination to the office of Sheriff. In December 1841 he was assassinated at Cabul on the eve of his departure to take up the governorship of Bombay. His remains, with those of Sir Alexander ("Sekunder") Burnes were rescued and placed by his widow sixteen months later in a handsome tomb in the Lower Circular Road Cemetary. The Judge's second son, Francis Macnaghten was also a Member of the Bengal Civil Service (writer, 1816: resigned 1843) and likewise his son, another Francis, (1852-1871).

James Dunkin (1794) appears to have been a "Mariner in the Pilot's Service": at all events, a man of that name and calling was buried in Calcutta on Sptember 29, 1795. Walter Ewer (1797) was a Civil Servant, who became Governor of Bencoolen; Edward Thoreton (1801) was Chief Magistrate in Calcutta: Henry Stone (1802) and George Warde (1821) were successive Secretaries to the Board of Revenue: and Henry Churchill (1806) was Marine Paymaster and Naval Storekeeper. Richard Fleming (1804) Stephen Laprimaudaye (1805) William Fairlie (1808) whose name survives in Fairlie-place, Josias Du Pré Alexander (1811) and J. H. Fergusson (1814) were merchants. Alexander afterwards became M. P. for Old Sarum, and was a Director of the East India Company from 1820 until his death in September 1839. Fairlie's name occurs frequently in the Grand Jury lists: and as foreman he presented an address on December 5, 1805, to Sir John Anstruther, the successor (in 1798) of Sir Robert Chambers as Chief Justice, in which permission was asked to place in the Town Hall the portrait which now hangs in the High Court. Calcutta, it may be observed, was described in the address as "one of the wealthiest and most populous cities in the world." Both Fairlie and Fergusson were members of the firm of Fairlie, Gilmore and Co. James Archibald Simpson (1807 and 1809) and Robert Cutlar Fergusson (1810) were advocates of the Supreme Court. Simpson subsequently held the Office of Clerk of the Crown, and Fergusson, who became Standing Counsel in 1816 and Advocate-General in 1818, ended his career as Director of the East India Company from 1830 to 1834, and was M. P. for Kirkcudbright in 1832. George Saunders (1813) came out as a writer in 1801, and was appointed Mintmaster at Calcutta on December 8, 1815. Sir Charles D'Oyly (1815) was the famous amateur artist and son of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, whom he succeeded in the Baronetcy. He came out as a writer in 1798 and retired in 1838. At the time he served as Sheriff, he was officiating as Collector of Government Customs at Calcutta. John W. Fulton (1816) was a member of the firm of Mackintosh, Fulton, and McClintock: and so also were James Calder (1822 and 1829) Browne Roberts (1828) and George James Gordon (1829). Edward Charles Macnaghten (1887) was an Advocate of the Supreme Court and Master in Eqnity.

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George Templer (1818) entered the Company's Service in 1805, and is described in the Calcutta Directory for the year of his Shrievalty as a "Senior merchant" on the Bengal establishment "out of employ:" but he was appointed Commercial Resident at Jangipore on April 17 of that year and continued to hold the office until his death in Calcutta on July 20, 1819. Patrick Maitland (1819) was a partner in the firm of Palmer & Co., Herbert Compton (1820) began life as a private soldier in the Company's army and then, after serving his articles as an attorney in Madras, was called to the Bar at Lincolns Inn in 1808. He joined the Supreme Court bar at Calcutta and became Advocate-General, first at Madras and then at Fort William. In 1831 he was knighted and appointed Chief Justice of Bombay. He retired in 1839 and died on January 14, 1846 at the age of seventy six. Robert McClintock (1824) William Prinsep (1826) brother of James Prinsep and Henry Thoby Prinsep the elder, and James Young (1838 and 1839) were merchants, the two latter members of the firm of Palmer & Co. (2) Thomas Brocken (1830) and Natnaniel Alexander (1831) were partners in the firm of Alexander & Co. which failed in 1839, with Palmer and Co. and Cruttenden Mackillop and Co. William Melville (1832) was a member of the firm of Fairlie Fergusson and Co. George Money (1833) was Master of the Supreme Court, and also later on Standing Counsel, and William Hickey (1835) and William Hunter Smoult (1842) were attorneys. William Smoult (1793) the father of the latter, and also an attorney, was a kinsman of Sir Robert Chambers, and came out to India with him in 1774 and "under his protection." He obtained an appointment in the Supreme Court and he figures in the capacity of reading clerk on the record of the Grand-Francis Case (1779). The son published in 1834 a "Collection of Orders by the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bengal on the Plea Side of the Court, 1774-1813, with notes from the note books of Sir Robert Chambers and Mr. Justice Hyde." John Beckwith (1845) was Secretary to the Bengal Indigo Company. Charles Swinton Hogg (1848) another Standing Counsel and later on Advocate-General was the last advocate to hold the office of Sheriff: and Trevor John Chichele Plowden (1827) whose monument is to be seen in St. John's Church, the last of the Company's servants. Thereafter, from 1848 to 1865, the Sheriffs are all drawn from the English mercantile community. Thus Adam Freer Smith (1843 and 1847) was a bill and stockbroker. R. M. Reddie (1851) was a member of the firm of Smith Farie and Co. and resided at 32 Cossitollah (now called Bentinck Street). J. Deffell (1852) was a partner in Allen Deffell and Co. and F. Bellairs (1853) in that of Peel

(2) In 1834 Dwarkanath Togore, in conjunction with William Carr and William Prinsep, established the firm of Carr Tagore and Co.

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Bellairs and Co. Thomas Caird (1854) was Government agent for emigration. Richard Stuart Palmer (1855) belonged to the firm of MacKillop Stewart and Co., and J. P. McKilligin (1846) and W. F. Gilmore (1859) to that of Gilmore McKilligin and Co. H. Dundas (1858) and 1865) represents the firm of Shand Fairlie and Co. and in George Brown (1860) we come across a partner of the house of Jardine Skinner and Co. for the first time. David Cowie (1862) and John Cowie (1872) were members of the once famous firm of Colvin Ainslie Cowie and Co. which was founded by Alexander Colvin in the time of Warren Hastings and which collapsed so dramatically in the seventies. Their place of business was at 4 Hastings Street where Alexander Colvin lived and where his nephew John Russell Colvin who died in the Fort at Agra during the Mutiny, was born in 1807.

The first non-European Sheriff was appointed in December 1865 when Mr. Seth Arratoon Apcar was nominated to serve for the year 1866. A second Armenian gentleman, Mr. P. A. Cavorke, was appointed for the year 1870, and a third, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Apcar Alexander Apcar (K.C.S.I.) served the office in 1906. The first Parsee Sheriff was Mr. Manackjee Rustomjee, whose portrait hangs in the Calcutta Town Hall, and the honour has been bestowed upon two other members of his community—Mr. Rustomjee Dhunjbhoy Mehta, C. I. E. (1893) and Mr. Herjeebhoy Manackjee Rustomjee (1902). There have been eleven Hindu Sheriffs: Raja Degumber Mitter, C.S.I. (1875) Maharaja Doorga Churn Law, C.I.E. of the firm of Prawnkissen Law and Co., (1882) Dr. Mahendra Lall Sircar, C.I.E. (1888), Baboo Joygobind Law, C.I.E. (1895), Rai Sitanath Roy Bahadur (1898) Mr. Nalin Bihari Sircar, C.I.E. of the firm of Kerr Tarruck and Co. (1904), Raja Kristo Dass Law (1907) Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyat Kumar Tagore, (1908 and 1909), Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., head of the firm of Martin and Company, (1911), Raja Reshee Case Law, C.I.E. (1915), and Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal Bose, C.I.E., I.S.O., (1921). Two have been members of the Marwari Community: Raja Shewbux Bogla (1897) and Sir Hariram Goenka, Rai Bahadur, C.I.E. (1917). Two have been Jews—Mr. E. D. J. Ezra (1879) and Mr. J. E. D. Ezra (1889). The Mahomedans have numbered six; Nawab Syed Asghar Ali, C.S.I. (1883) Shahzadah Mahomed Furrokh Shah, of the Mysore family, (1891), Sahibzada Mahomed Bukhtyar Shah, C.I E. of the same family (1900), Sahibzada Gholam Mahomed Shah, also of the same family, (1913) Prince Akram Hussain, of the Oudh family (1919) and Sahibzada Mahomed Ali Nakey, who was appointed on December 1922, to serve for the year 1923.

Many leading English merchants also figure in the list. Taking only the Sheriffs of recent years, mention may be made of Mr. Robert Steel, C.S.I. (1880) Mr. George Yule (1886) Sir Alexander Wilson (1887), Sir James

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Mackay, now Lord Inchcape (1892) Sir Patrick Playfair (1896) Sir Allan Arther (1898), Mr. W. B. Gladstone and Mr. Lawrie Johnstone (1889) Sir George Sutherland (1901 and 1908) Sir Ernest, now Lord, Cable (1905) and Sir Frank Carter, C.I.E., C.B.E. (1918).

LIST OF SHERIFFS OF CALCUTTA 1752—1923.

(FROM THE RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.)

James Valicourt (1752).
Thomas Coales (1753).
John Cooke (appointed in December 1753, probably held office in 1754).
Thomas Coales (1755).
William Lindsay (1756).
Stanlake Batson (1757).
William Rider (1758).
Thomas Culling Smith (appointed in Dec. 1759, probably held office in 1760).
William Majendie (appointed in Dec. 1765, probably held office in 1766).
Simeon Droz (1768).
Edward Baber (1769).
Lionel Darell, Jun. (1770).
W. Swainston (1774).

APPOINTED UNDER CHARTER OF 1774.

Alexander Mackrabie (1775).
Samuel Montaigut (1776).
Blastus Godly Wright (appointed on Dec. 5, 1776, but he departed for England in the same month).
William Wodsworth (1777).
John Bristow (appointed on Dec. 5, 1777, but he departed the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, the same month).
John Richardson (1778).
Sir John Hadley D'Oyly (1779).
Alexander Van Rixtel (1780).
Herbert Harris (1781).
John Hare (1782).
Jeremiah Church (1783).
Robert Morse (1784).
Samuel Bagshaw (Acting Sheriff, 1784).
Philip Yonge (1785).
Stephen Cassan (1786).
Edmund Morris (1787).
William Pawson (1788).
John Wilson (1789).
William Orby Hunter (1790).
Charles Fuller Martyn (1791).
Anthony Lambert (1792).
William Smoult (1793).
James Dunkin (1794).
Levi Ball (1795).
Ralph Uvedale (1796).
Francis Macnaghten (1797).
James Vanzandt (1798).
Walter Ewer (1799).
James Brice (1800).
Edward Thoroton (1801).
Henry Stone (1802).
Edward Benjamin Lewin (1803).
Richard Fleming (1804).
Stephen Laprimaudaye (1805).
Henry Churchill (1806).
James Archibald Simpson (1807).
William Fairlie (1808).
James Archibald Simpson (1809).

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Patrick Moir
Robert Cutlar Fergusson } (1810).
Josias Dupré Alexander (1811).
John Brereton Birch (1812).
George Saunders (1813).
John Hutcheson Fergusson (1814).
Charles D'Oyly (1815).
John Williamson Fulton (1816).
Edward Charles Macnaghten (1817).
George Templer (1818).
Patrick Maitland (1819).
Herbert Abingdon Draper Compton (1820).
George Warde (1821).
James Calder (1822).
William Hay Macnaghten (1823).
Robert McClintock (1824).
William Hay Macnaghten (1825).
William Prinsep (1826).
Trevor John Chicheley Plowden (1827).
Browne Roberts
George James Gordon } (1828).
James Calder (1829).
Thomas Bracken (1830).
Nathaniel Alexander (1331).
William Melville (1832).
George Money (1833).
J. Higginson (1834).
William Hickey (1835).
Richard H. Cockerell (1836).
Thomas Holroyd (1837).
James Young (1838).
James Young (1839).
Thomas Bracken (1840).
William C. Braddon (1841).
William Hunter Smoult (1842).
Adam Frear Smith (1843).
James S. Stopford 1844).
John Beckwith (1845).
J. P. McKilligin (1846).
Adam Frear Smith (1847).
Charless Swinton Hogg (1848).
Robert Stopford (1849).
James J. Mackenzie (1850).
Robert Muirhead Reddie (1851).
John Deffell (1852).
Frederick Bellairs (1853).
Thomas Caird (1854).
Richard Stuart Palmer (1855).
John Huchison Fergusson (1856).
Henry Edward Braddon (1857).
John Huchison Fergusson
Henry Dundas } (1858).
William Fairlie Gilmore (1859)
George Brown
Claude Hamilton Brown } (1860).
John Cochrane (1861).
David Cowie (1862).
Stuart Gladstone (1863).
John Phillips Thomas (1864).
Henry Dundas (1865).
Seth Aratoon Apcar (1866).
Henry Crooke (1867).
Charles Frederic Burgett (1868).
James Rome (1869).
Phillipus Astwachatoor Cavorke (1870).
James Richard Bullen Smith (1871).
John Cowie (1872).
Thomas Maltby Robinson (1873).
Manackjee Rustomjee (1874).
Degumber Mitter, C. S. I. (1875).
James Richard Bullen Smith (1876).
John Francis Ogilvy (1877).
William Joseph Curtoys
Edmond Charles Morgan } (1878).
Edmond Charles Morgan
Elias David Joseph Ezra } (1879).
Robert Steel (1880).
George Francis Newburn
Walter Ewing Crum } (1881).

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Doorga Churn Law (1882).
Robert Miller
Nawab Syed Asghar Ali Khan Bahadoor, C. S. I. } (1883).
Henry William Irvine Wood (1884).
George Elphinstone Keith (1885).
George Yule (1886).
Sir Alexander Wilson, Kt. (1887).
Mahendra Lall Sircar, M. D., C. I. E. (1888).
Joseph Elias David Joseph Ezra (1889).
Henry Blois Hawkins Turner (1890).
Shahzadah Mahomed Furrokh Shah (1891).
James Lyle Mackay, C.k I. E.
William Currie } (1892).
Rustomjee Dhunjeebhoy Mehta (1893).
Edward Trelawny (1894).
Joy Gobind Law (1895).
Patrick Playfair, C. I. E. (1896).
Shewbux Bogla (1897).
Allan Arthur
Sitanath Roy } (1898).
William Buckley Gladstone
C. Lawrie Johnstone } (1899).
Sahibzada Mahomed Bukhtyar Shah, C. I. E. (1900).
George Henry Sutherland (1901).
Heerjibhoy Manackjee Rustomjee (1902).
William Albert Bankier (1903).
Nalin Bihari Sircar, C. I. E. (1904).
Ernest Cable (1905).
Apcar Alexander Apcar, C. S. I. (1906).
Maharaj Kumar Kristo Dass Law (1907).
Sir George Henry Sutherland, Kt.
Maharaja Sir Prodyat Coomar Tagore, Kt. } (1908).
Maharaja Sir Prodyat Coomar Tagore, Kt. (1909).
Walter Kingsbury Dowding (1910).
R. N. Mookerjee, C. I. E. (1911).
Robert Holmes Arbuthnot Gresson (1912).
Sahibzada Gholam Mahommed Shah (1913).
Francis Hugh Stewart, C. I. E. (1914).
Raja Reshee Case Law. C. I. E. (1915).
Edward Hugh Bray (1916).
Rai Harıram Goenka Bahadur, C.I.E. (1917).
Frank Willingdon Carter, C. I. E., C. B. E. (1918).
Afsur-ul-Mulk Prince Mirza Mahommed Akram Hussain Bahadur (1919).
Alfred Donald Pickford (1920).
Chunilal Bose, I. S. O., M. B. (1921).
William Crawford Currie (1922).
Sahibzada Mirza Mahommed Ali Nakey (1923).

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Chequers Court and Calcutta.

CHEQUERS Court, in Buckinghamshire, which has, through the liberality of Lord Lee of Fareham, become the official residence of the Prime Minister of England, is celebrated for its relics of the Cromwell family. These relics, which include the Protector's death mask, and also his clothes, jackboots, sword and watch, came to Chequers through the marriage in 1715 of John Russell, a grandson of Oliver, with Joanna Thurban or Thurborne, who was the owner of the house.

This John Russell was none other than the Governor of Fort William from 1711 to 1713. He was the youngest son of Sir Francis Russell, a Cambridgeshire Baronet, and Frances (1637-1720) the youngest and favourite daughter of the Protector. He came to Bengal as a factor on December 3, 1694, and after his return to England in 1713, lived on until 1735 and died at Bath on December 5 of that year, at the age of 65. His first wife, Rebecca, whom he married on December 17, 1697, was the sister of Sir Charles Eyre, Governor of Fort William from 1695 to 1701, and husband of Job Charnock's daughter Mary, who lies buried with her father and sister Catherine White in St. John's Churchyard. Madam Russell, as she is termed in the consultation books, died at Chandernagore on April 1713, at the age of 42, and was buried at Calcutta on the day following. Governor Russell resigned his office on December 3 of the same year and took his passage home with his son and three daughters on the *Marlborough*, which left the Sandheads on December 9. A month was spent at Madras, which was reached on December 22. Early in April the ship touched at the Cape and the Governor went ashore and returned after a week's stay, under a salute each time of eleven guns. England was finally reached in August, 1714. A year later, on September 7, 1715, being then of Duke Street, Saint James's, John Russell married as his second wife Joanna, sole daughter and heiress of John Thurban Serjeant-at-law and widow of Colonel Edmund Revett, who fell at the battle of Malplaquet. The Chequers estate had been left to her by her step-mother Mary, the daughter of Sir William Coke.

The only daughter of John and Joanna Russell died in infancy: but two of the children of John Russell by his first wife married the two children of Colonel Revett and Joanna. Frances Russell, who was born in Calcutta on January 6, 1700, went home with her father on the *Marlborough*, and became bedchamber woman to the Princess Amelia, the daughter of George the Second, who died unmarried in 1786 at her house in Cavendish Square. Of this period of her life the late Dr. C. R. Wilson (in his Early Annals of the English in Bengal, vol. II) has preserved an entertaining anecdote. She was

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on a thirtieth of January in the Princess's room adjusting her mistress's dress, when the Prince of Wales, coming into the room, took occasion to observe, with more freedom than courtesy, "Ah! Miss Russell, why are you not at church to endeavour to avert the judgment of heaven from falling upon the nation for the sins of your ancestor Oliver?" To which the Governor's daughter replied with spirit, "Is it not enough humiliation for a descendant of the great Cromwell to be pinning up your sister's tail?" This outspoken lady married, as we have said, the son of her stepmother, John Revett, who died in 1763 at the age of 56. She thus became owner of the Chequers estate and when she died in 1775, it passed to her sister-in-law Mary Revett, who had in 1737 married her only brother. Charles Russell was born in Calcutta on January 8, 1701, and was taken home by his father when thirteen years old. He was gazetted Major in the second regiment of Guards on December 17, 1751, and commanded the battalion at Dettingen and Fontenoy, where he greatly distinguished himself. He subsequently became Colonel of the 34th Foot. Falling ill while the regiment was at Minorca, he died in London on November 20, 1754, and was buried at Kew in the tomb of his uncle Sir Charles Eyre died 1729, at the age of 69). By his wife, Mary Revett, he had two children. Mary succeeded her aunt Frances as bedchamber woman to the Princess Amelia and died unmarried in 1813 at the age of 73. John succeeded to Chequers Court and became eighth baronet in 1757: he was a member of the Bar and died in 1783. His two sons John (1777-1802) and George (1781-1804), both of Chequers Court, were the 9th and 10th baronets and as neither of them married, the title became extinct with the death of the last named in 1804.

Governor Russell's two other daughters Mary and Elizabeth elected to return to Calcutta. The Company's Court Book of November 3, 1727, records that:—

> Governor Russell attending the Court and requesting that his two daughters and a maid servant may take passage to Bengal on the *Stretham*. Ordered that his two daughters have liberty to proceed on the usual terms and that the servant have likewise leave to go without charge to the Company.

Mary who was born in Calcutta on August 6, 1701, married Josiah Holmes on November 13, 1728, a few months after her return, and died without issue at Cossimbazar on August 30, 1732. Elizabeth who was three years her junior (born at Calcutta on July 29, 1704) married Samuel Greenhill of the East India Company's Service on September 18, 1728.

It will be seen therefore that a close, if indirect, connexion can be established between the country home of the Prime Minister of England and the city among the marshes founded by old Job Charnock. Two of Governor Russell's nephews also held high office in Calcutta. The first of these was

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Henry Frankland, the son of his sister Elizabeth and Sir Thomas Frankland, who was Governor of Fort William from 1726 to 1728, and died at Calcutta in the latter year. The second was Sir Francis Russell, who was the second son of Sir William the 4th baronet, and succeeded as sixth baronet on the death without issue in 1738 of his elder brother, also Sir William. Francis Russell was born about 1697 and arrived in Bengal in the Service of the Company in 1716. He bacame Chief at Cossimbazar in 1728, and Member of Council at Fort William in 1731, returning to Cossimbazar as Chief in 1741. He died intestate at Calcutta on February 26, 1743 and was buried on the following day. On February 15, 1728, he married Ann daughter of Zachariah Gee, merchant in Bengal. She remained in India after his death and married on November 30, 1744, a second husband in the person of one Thomas Holmes, a merchant. But she kept her former style of address, for there is a house plainly marked with the name of "Lady Russell" in William Wills' map of the Settlement in 1753. It was situated in what is now Mission Row on the site of the old Mission Church and enjoyed in those days an uninterrupted view across the Great Tank of the old Fort. The space immediately in front of the house was then known as the Rope Walk and was the scene of hard fighting during the "Troubles" of 1756. Lady Russell was among the company which took refuge in the Fort when the settlement was attacked by Seraj-ud-dowlah, and was one of the party which were sent down the river in boats. She died in that fateful year, 1756, and probably at Fulta, for her will dated August 24, 1756, was proved in the Mayor's Court in the following year. Her only son, William, became the seventh baronet and died unmarried in 1757, at the age of 23.

No relationship existed between these Russells and the family of Sir Henry Russell, who was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Fort William from 1806 to 1813. He succeeded Sir William Dunkin (who died in Calcutta) as puisne Judge of the Court in 1797, and was promoted to the superior office on the retirement of Sir John Anstruther, being himself followed by Sir Edward Hyde East. Chinnery painted his portrait in scarlet robes, and it hangs on the eastern wall of the old Sessions Court. But, however eminent he was as a Judge, his chief claim to remembrance is that he was the uncle of Rose Aylmer, whose fame is "carved as it was in ivory or in gems" in Landor's immortal elegy. Three of the Chief Justice's sons entered the Company's Service. The eldest Henry who succeeded as second baronet in 1836, was Resident at Hyderabad from 1810 to 1817 and earned from Wellesley the compliment of description as "the most promising young man he knew." The others were, Charles who became member of Parliament for Reading after he left India, and died in 1856, and Francis Whitworth, Salt Agent at Chittagong, who died at that place in 1852.

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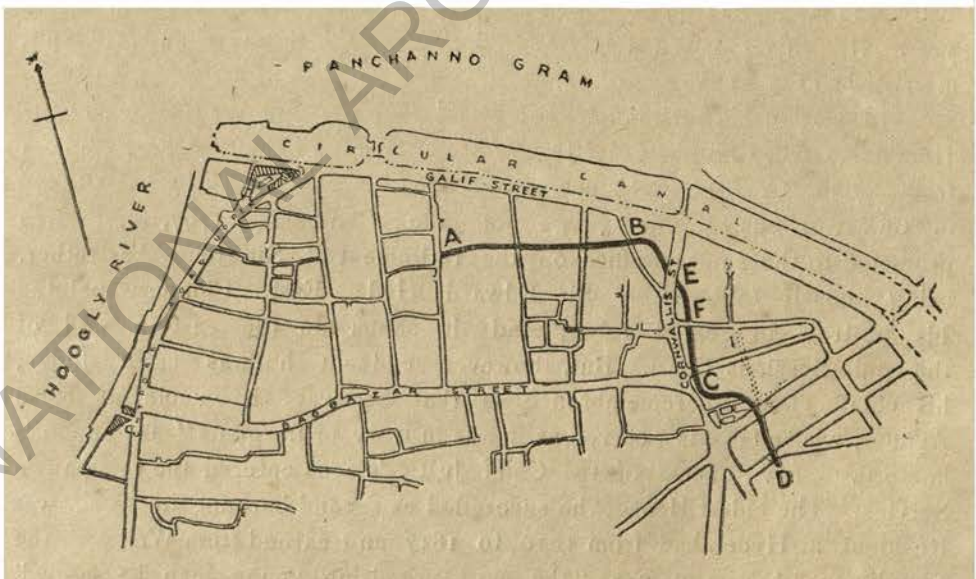
The Last Trace of the Mahratta Ditch.

MR. T. Emerson, C. I. E., Chairman of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, contributes the following interesting note :—

When the Trust started work in 1913 on the Shambazar Improvement Scheme there was still a portion of the Mahratta Ditch in existence runing from 225 Upper Circular Road to within a few feet of Cornwallis Street. Two small portions had been filled up by the Corporation, but the rest was an open Ditch about 600 feet in length varying in width from 12 to 4 feet and having a depth of about 6 feet. The ditch was filled up by the Trust about the year 1917 during the progress of the scheme and now forms part of building plots. Between Pal Lane and Cornwallis Street an unnamed lane runs over the site of the Mahratta Ditch. Immediately west of Cornwallis Street the Ditch has been built over, but west of these plots the "Mahratta Ditch Lane" follows the site of the original Ditch half way to Chitpore Road.

The subjoined plan will give an idea of the locality :—



A to B is Mahratta Ditch Lane. B to C had been filled up before the Trust began work and forms part of building sites except the portion E to F which is the unnamed lane. The section C to D represents the remains

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of the Ditch as it existed in 1917 except the small portion where it was crossed by Shambazar Bridge Road. It may be added that while driving screw piles for a temporary bridge close by on the bank of the Circular Canal, the contractor for the Trust came across solid masonry of a thickness of 14 feet at a depth of 7 feet below the surface of the water in the Canal and 60 feet to the N.-W. of the N.-W. portion of the old bridge. The bricks of which the masonry was composed were $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ in size.

The Mahratta Ditch is clearly shown in a plan to a scale of four inches to the mile of "the territory of Calcutta, as marked out in the year 1742, exhibiting likewise the military operations at Calcutta when attacked and taken by Seraj-ud-Dowlah on the 18th of June, 1756." It will be found inserted by Auron Upjohn in a corner of his large map of 1793, and is apparently the plan, upon a more extended scale, to which Archdeacon Hyde refers in his *Parochial Annals of Bengal* as having been seeu by him in the British Museum. (See Cotton, *Calcutta Old and New*, p. 39). Except for a dètour on the north-east at Halsi Bagan, to enclose the garden houses of Gobindram Mitter, the "Black Zemindar" of Holwell's time, and of Omichand, it followed the modern Circular Road from Perrin's Point, at the north-west extremity of Suttanuttee, where the Chitpore Creek meets the river, down to a spot near the junction of "John Bazar" (Corporation Street) and Lower Circular Road, at the Entally Corner. It thus encircled the Northern and Southern sides of the town only.

The Ditch, as every student of Calcutta history knows, dates from the Maharatta invasion of 1742, when Janojee, the son of Raghojee Bhonsla, Chief of Nagpore and the "Bounceloe" of contemporary chroniclers, burst into Bengal. The country was laid waste from Balasore to Rajmehal: Mukwah Tannah Fort, which stood on the side of the house now occupied by the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens, was taken: and, finally, Hooghly was captured and Orissa surrendered. "Crowds of the inhabitants of the country on the western side of the river came and implored the protection of the English, who in consequence of the general alarm, obtained permission from Ali Verdi to dig an entrenchment round their territory. This work, had it been completed, would have extended seven miles. In six months three miles of it were finished, when the inhabitants finding that the Mahrattas did not approach Calcutta, desisted from these works." Such is the account given by Major Charles Stewart in his *History of Bengal from the first Mahommadan invasion unsil 1757* (published in 1813). We have also the following account contained in a letter written from Madras in 1754 by the historian Robert Orme :—

> The Company's Settlement of Calcutta is situated upon a low of the River Ganges the points of which are Salman's (Surman's) Garden

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to the southward and Perring's Garden to the northward. Our bounds extend inland in a kind of curve too, the greatest distance of which from the river is about a mile and a quarter. About ten years ago, upon the incursion of the Morratoes, the merchants were so allarmed that at their own expense they proposed to dig a ditch round the bounds and of the earth to form a rampart within it, and accordingly in a hurry finished three-fourths of it. I believe there remains a mile to carry it down to the river, it having turned the southern most angle of our bounds—though this ditch and rampart are no ways answerable to their intent of defending the bounds yet had they been finished quite down to the river as they are to the northward with openings to the great roads which led into the town, it most certainly would have proved excellent means of laying with great exactness the customs on all importations.

As a matter of fact the original scheme was to plant seven batteries in different parts of the town, and the Ditch was an afterthought. The Council at Fort William met in April 20, 1742, under the presidency of Thomas Braddyll, "to take steps for the defence and security of the place," and ordered "that Captain Commandant William Holcombe, Captain John Lloyd, and Captain Edward Frederick Reade, Gunner, taking with them John Alliffe, Surveyor of the Works, do go round the town and take a careful and particular survey of the same." Two days later the survey party gave in their report. They recommended the formation of seven batteries. The first of these was to be in the north at Seat's (Seth's) Garden (in the modern Jorabagan) consisting of six guns, four of which were to face the road towards Perrin's and two to flank the avenue towards the river side (Nimtola Ghaut Street). Another battery of four guns was to be placed "a little on this side the Octagon," which was at Suttanuttee Point; and a third of three guns "at Mr. Jackson's Gaut" (1). Of the four others two were to be on the east and two on the south, with connected ditches and earth works, in order to close the avenues and alleys leading into the purely European quarter. These were completed by July: and still more ambitious plans were proposed, which were sent home to the Court of Directors for consideration. But meanwhile the inhabitants took the matter of their defence into their own hands. They put forward a scheme "to dig a ditch forty-two yards wide from the battery of the prison round the Company's bounds as far as the

(1) In Aaron Upjohn's Map of 1792-93, Jackson's Ghaut is shown to the west of Clive Street immediately between Barretto's Ghaut (now known as Armenian Ghaut) on the north and Foreman's Ghaut on the south. The next Ghaut to the south is Blythe's Ghaut, now Clive Ghaut. The name Barretto's Lane, now given to a turning off Mangoe Lane, connecting with British Indian Street, is there given to what is in these days a disused private lane leading through No. 39 Strand Road. There is a lane connecting Jackson's Ghaut with Clive Street.

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chowkies beyond Perrin's Garden and that each inhabitant's proportion towards the same should be rated by the Collector." The Council on March 31, 1743, agreed and advanced Rs. 25,000 to carry it out.

The batteries vanished, but the Ditch continued for years to be a prominent landmark of Calcutta. The earth excavated was so disposed on the inner or townward side as to form a tolerably high road, along the margin of which was planted a row of trees. The Circular Road thus formed constituted a frequented and fashionable resort until the middle of the eighteenth century: but when the Ditch was filled up by order of the Marquess Wellesley about the year 1802, it had been for forty years or more the receptacle of all the filth and garbage of Calcutta.

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Alexander and John Hannay.

ALEXANDER Hannay was the second of the seven sons of William Hannay of Kirkdale (pronounced "Kerdal") in Wigtownshire and Margaret Johnston of Girthon. He entered the army and took part in the German campaigns, including the battle of Minden, under the Marquess of Granby. Subsequently he went to India and on August 4, 1765, was promoted Captain of Bengal Infantry. There is a reference to him but with an erroneous Christian name in G. F. Grand's "Narrative of a Gentleman Long Resident in India" (published at the Cape in 1814). In the month of September 1766, Grand who was then a Cadet on the Bengal military establishment, was in orders to "proceed up the country with a detachment of recruits for the three brigades under the command of the late Colonel James (*sic*) Hannay then Captain Hannay," who as well as himself had recently arrived from Europe. Lord Clive (he says) "was good enough to recommend me to this gentleman and I experienced from him every attention during his temporary authority. Arrived at Bankypore, then the Cantonment of the second Brigade, I was introduced by him to the late General Richard Smith, then the Colonel thereof." He became Major on October 1, 1769, and Lieutenant-Colonel on September 4, 1780, and was Adjutant-General of the Company's Army at the time of his death.

With the permission of Hastings he temporarily left the Company's service in 1778 and entered that of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, by whom he was appointed to the management of the district of Gorakhpur. Disturbances however arose which were attributed to oppression and misconduct on his part. The Nawab dismissed him in 1781 and would not hear of his return.

In the family mausoleum at Kirkdale it is inaccurately recorded that he died in India in 1787. He really died five years earlier. His engagements had taken him to Lucknow early in 1782. He left Lucknow in June, 1782, arrived in Calcutta in August, and died there on September 4,

As the officer in command of the Nawab of Oudh's troops during the first Rohilla war of 1774, he was examined as a witness during the trial of Warren Hastings in the course of the enquiry into the conduct of the campaign: and references to him occur in the speech delivered by Sheridan on June 3, 6, 10, and 13, 1788, in which he summed up the evidence relating to the second count in the impeachment which charged Hastings with the exaction of 76 lakhs of rupees from the Begums of Oudh. See *Hastings*

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and the Rohilla war by Sir John Strachey (1892), pp. 212, 215, 218, 306, 313: and the *Story of Nuncomar* by Sir J. F. Stephen (1885), Vol. II., pp. 262, 266, 269.

Three of his brothers also came out to India. Allusions are made to Johnston and Ramsay, the fifth and the sixth sons of William Hannay, in a book entitled "Narrative of a Transaction which passed in Bengal in 1782-3, between James Fraser, Esq., and the Executors of the late Lieut.-Colonel Hannay, by Robert Stewart, Esq., Captain in the military service of the East India Company, 1787."

John Hannay, the fourth son, was born on October 4, 1744. He lived at Townhead, Sorby, in Wigtonshire (a part of Galloway usually called "the Shire," as distinguished from Kirkcudbrightshire, which is usually called "the Stewartry.") There he married, and had two children—Alexander, born in 1767 at Sorby and baptized in March of that year; and Barbara, born in 1769 at Sorby and baptized on March 23 of that year. Shortly afterwards he left Scotland for Bengal where he had been appointed to a writership, and arrived in Calcutta on June, 1770. The following particulars are known of his official career:—

1771.—Without employ.
1772.—Assistant in Select Committee Office.
1773.—Paymaster of the Works.
1775.—Import Warehouse keeper.
1776.—Factor holding the same office.
1778.—Paymaster of the third Brigade.
1779.—Junior Merchant holding the same office.
1782.—Senior Merchant and Commissioner of Customs.
1788.—Out of the Service.

He had a natural daughter named Maria, who was baptized in Calcutta on February 22, 1775.

Whilst in the service he and one Samuel Charters bought from one George Gardner an estate of about 100 bighas, known as "Holwell Place," situate about five miles from Calcutta at Garden Reach, then usually called Moochee Collah. Charters and John Hannay divided the estate into halves, and on one of these John Hannay built a house. Ultimately, Charters and Hannay sold the entire estate to one Jaynarain Gosaul, who, in February 1786, sold it to one William Barton for Rs. 30,000. Hannay's name appears among the signatures to a petition addressed by the merchants of Calcutta to Warren Hastings and his Council on September 22, 1778 (Original Consultations of October 5, 1778, no. 24) with regard to the necessity of providing adequate protection against French privateers to the ships in the China trade.

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He would appear to have visited Scotland about 1780, for in that year he purchased the estate of Rusko, or Ruscoe, in the parish of Anwoth, in the Stewartry. This property eventually passed by purchase to Robert Hannay, formerly of Jamaica, who had no connection with the Hannays of Kirkdale. On April 2, 1792, he made a will disposing Rusko to his brother Johnston Hannay as executor, with directions to sell and distribute the proceeds among certain relatives. A daughter Mary is named; but there is no mention of Alexander and Barbara, the children born to him before his departure to India. He died on September 19, 1795: the place of his death is not recorded.

Samuel Hannay, the third son, succeeded to Kirkdale on the death of Alexander. Had Colonel Alexander known it, or cared about it, he could have had himself "served and retoured" as heir male and of line to Sir Robert Hannay, or Hannah, of Mochrum, Baronet; and might also have matriculated as Hannay of Sorby; as both his father and his elder brother Patrick had died in 1759. The Baronetcy was created on May 31, 1630 and had remained abeyant since the death of the original holder in 1642 with the Royalist forces until Samuel Hannay took the necessary steps in the Lord Lyon's office on September 26, 1783. On January 26, 1784, Samuel also established his title to the Headship of the "Galloway Hannays," as Hannay of Sorby. He died in December 1790, leaving four sons—Samuel, Alexander, John, and William Robert; and four daughters—Margaretta, Mary Hastings, Jane, and Eliza. Sir Samuel Hannay, the second Baronet, died unmarried in Vienna on December 1, 1841. His affairs were involved; and his uncle, Ramsay Hannay, acquired Kirkdale, apparently as mortgagee. None of this Sir Samuel's younger brothers afterwards left any line; and under a settlement executed by Ramsay Hannay, Kirkdale went first to Mary Hastings for life, and eventually to Jane and her children; Jane having married one Thomas Rainsford of Hans-place, Chelsea. Thus, the present family in Kirkdale are not Hannays of line, but Rainsford-Hannays, the descendants of Thomas Rainsford and Jane Hannay having assumed the surname Hannay, and tacked it on to their own surname Rainsford.

The titular honours of the Hannays of Sorby and Mochrum, or "Galloway" Hannays, vest in the heirs male of line to the Sir Samuel Hannay of Sorby and Mochrum who died on December 1, 1841. These took through John Hannay. Hence, the legal representatives, or direct lineal descendants, of John Hannay eventually came in as successors *in jure* and *in posse*, not to the Kirkdale and other estates, for these followed and are still subject to Ramsay Hannay's settlement, but to the *family honours*.

The family now spell their name "Hannah." My father, William Cowper Hannay of Sorby Parish, changed the spelling, although he and his

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father Alexander (son of John Hannay of the Company's Service) both appear in local Parish Registers—now kept at the Registry House, Edinburgh—as Hannay. But in the various records (Charter-chests, books, registers, etc.,) the name masquerades in all kinds of queer motley—first Achanny (from Galloway-Pictish Achadh-an-Ath, or aith, meaning "The field by the ford," or perhaps "brick-kiln"); then during Norman times, De Hannath, De Hannethe, and De Anneth—apparently at pleasure, or according as the pen chose to run.

H. BRUCE HANNAH.

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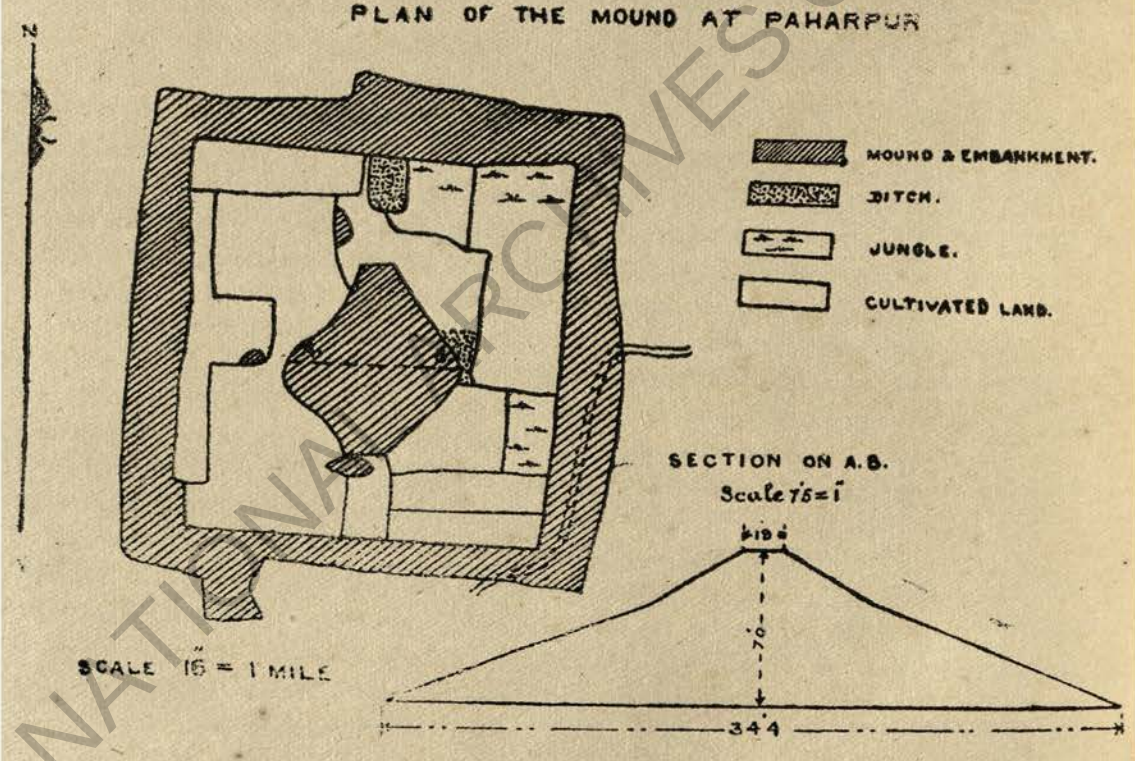
Paharpur, A Relic of Buddhism.

PAHARPUR, a mauza of pargana Saguna, in police-station Badalgachi in the district of Rajshahi, is situated a few miles from the Jamalganj railway station. The village takes its name from a high mound, which looks like a *pahar* or hillock.

The mound stands 70 to 80 feet high in the middle of a large quadrangular enclosure (about 400 yards square outside), formed by an embankment overgrown with jungle. The area of the enclosure is about 22 acres; the breadth of the embankment varies from 90 to 120 feet and its height varies from 8 to 15 feet.



The place was described by Buchanan Hamilton (*Eastern India*, Vol. II, page 669) about a hundred years ago as the site of a Buddhist temple. Mr. Westmacott, a former Collector of Dinajpur, was of the same opinion. He recommended its excavation (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,

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1875, page 190). Sir Alexander Cunningham came "for making some extensive excavations" in 1879-80; but the zamindar prohibited the attempt. The members of the Varendra Research Society have paid several visits to this place and ascertained the following :—

(i). A part of the mound was excavated by one Ghanesyam in 1876, who laid bare a big stone, still visible on the mound. His excavation, though partial and limited to a small portion, disclosed that the mound was made of solid bricks.

(ii). Some door frames of stone, said to have been discovered by this mound, were taken to the zamindar's house at Bolihar; but it is not known from what exact spot they were taken away.

(iii). On the top of the mound stood a fakir's brickbuilt shelter, which was noticed by Buchanan; but there is no trace of it now.

(iv). On the corners of the enclosure Buchanan noticed remains of brick buildings, traces of which are still visible.

(v). Buchanan was told that the mound was called "Gopal-Chitar-Pahar," *i.e.*, the mound of the cremation site of Gopal, which might indicate that the mound represented the sepulchre built over the ashes of the first king of the Pala dynasty of Bengal.

(vi). The present residents of the village, who are new settlers, told the members of the Varendra Research Society that the ruins represented the house of a Raja named Maidal, who was the father of Satyanarayan, the Mahomedan convert now know by the name of Satya-Pir. The place is described as "Maidal Rajarbadi" in the old chitta in the possession of the zamindars of Porsha. But the tradition appears to be worthless, inasmuch as the mound discloses undoubted proofs of pre-Mahomedan origin. Sir Alexander Cunningham took it for the ruin of a Brahmanical temple. As this opinion did not agree with the height (70 to 80 feet) and the general features of the mound, I described it as a Buddhist mound in my Calcutta University lectures in 1915-16.

In 1917 I received a post-card, which informed me that a pillar inscription had been discovered at Paharpur. It has since been sent to the Museum of the Varendra Research Society by one of its mufassal members, Babu Sriram Maitra, a Naib of Bolihar, now stationed at Mahadebpur. This inscription appears on the upper part of an octagonal stone pillar broken at its top. It was dug out by one Samir Sonar of Paharpur, from the south-west corner of the enclosure where he was digging for old bricks, presumably from one of

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those sites where Buchanan had noticed remains of brick buildings. The inscription, of which a photograph is attached, consists of a verse in Sanskrit engraved in four lines and testifies to the Buddhistic origin of the ruins. It runs as follows:—

"Om Ratnatraya-pramodena
Satvanam hitakankshaya
Sri-Dasasabalagarbhena Sta-
mbheyan-Karito varah."

The translation is as follows:—

"Om. This excellent pillar was caused to be made by Sri Dasabalagarbha to please the three jewels (Dharma, Buddha and Samgha) for the good of all created beings."

On palæographic grounds this inscription has to be referred to the eleventh century, A.D. As it appears to have been a votive pillar, consecrated by its donor in a holy place, the ruins of Paharpur may be taken to represent some Buddhistic establishment existing from before the eleventh century, A.D. The discovery of a big stone by Ghanesyam from inside a solid brick structure at a short distance from the top of the mound and the observation of Sir Alexander Cunningham that "the upper part was a square tower of 22 feet side, with a projection in the middle of each face" (Archaeological Survey Report, Volume XV, page 118), are interesting features, which may be probable indications of the situation of a relic chamber. To the south of this place, at a distance of about 5 miles, stands another mound, which goes by the name of Haludvihar, the Yellow Vihara, and obviously indicates the site of an old Buddhist monastery or college.

In 1919, in order to protect and preserve it, excavations within the quadrangular embankment wherein the mound is situated were prohibited at the instance of the Varendra Research Society by a notification under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. Recently the site has been acquired by Government with a view to its excavation. The generosity of the President of the Varendra Research Society, Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, M. A., M. R. A. S., has placed funds at the disposal of the University of Calcutta, and arrangements have been made for excavations to be carried out by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in consultation with the Archaeological Survey and the Varendra Research Society. The first of the photographs which accompany this article shows the mound as it now exists.

AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA,
Director, Varendra Research Society.

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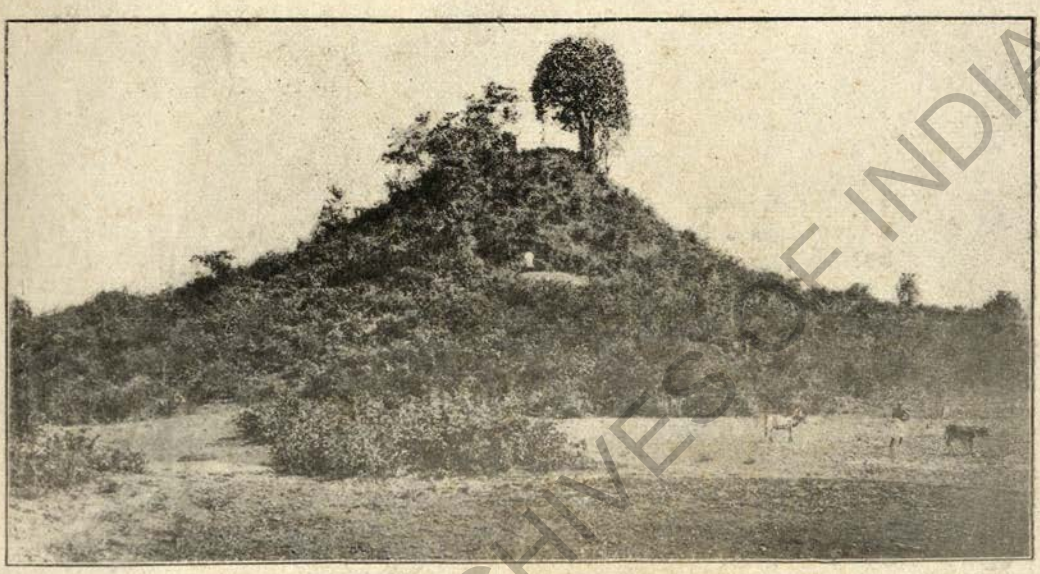
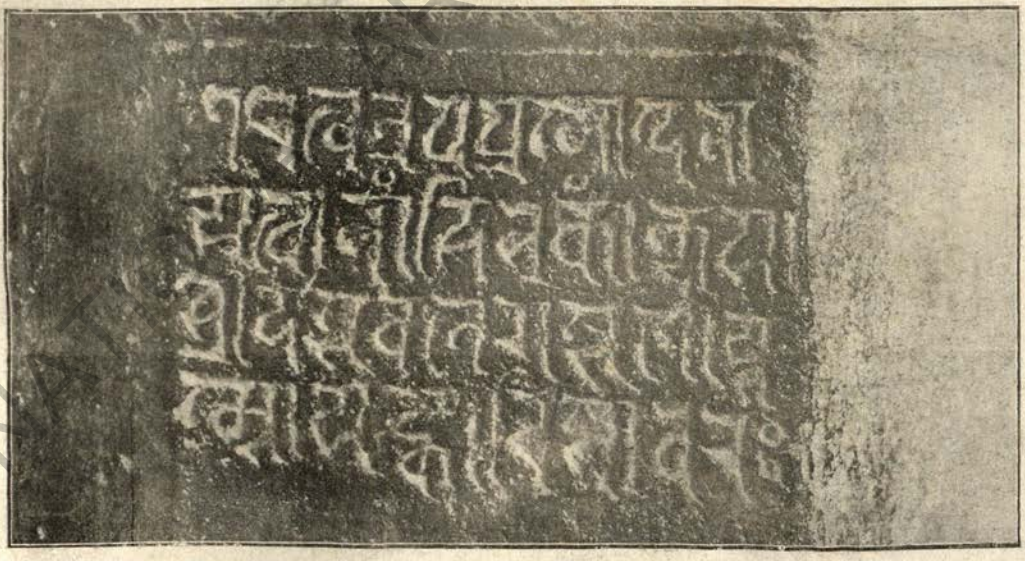


THE MOUND AT PAHARPUR.
(From a photograph taken by the Varendra Research Society in 1911).



THE PILLAR INSCRIPTION.
(Discovered in 1917).

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BUCHANAN HAMILTON'S DESCRIPTION.

Francis Buchanan Hamilton's account of Paharpur which was written about 1810, is as follows :—

"The most remarkable ruin in this division is situated about eight miles north east from Badolgachi on the frontier of Lalbazar, and is called Gopalchitar Pahar, and Paharpoor. I found it an immense steep heap of bricks, from 100 to 150 feet in perpendicular height, covered with bushes and crowned by a remarkably fine tree. On ascending about half way, I found three large rough stones, on which I had been led to expect an inscription; but I found afterwards, that the person who gave me the information, although a Brahman and a Zemindar, could not read. On the summit is a small chamber of brick, withe a door facing the east, and a small niche towards the west. This is said to have been the residence of a Mohamedan hermit, which is very probable. The heap of bricks, or hill as it is called, has been surrounded by a square rampart, the ruins of which contain many bricks, and each side may be 402 yards in length. The rampart is overgrown with trees, but the space between it and the hill is clear, contains some small tanks, and indications of brick buildings, especially towards the corners of the rampart. The thickness of this would induce one to believe that the place might have been a fortress, but no ditch can be traced, and the heap, which is by far the most remarkable part of the ruin, could not have answered for defence. I am therefore inclined to believe that it has been a temple, and its great steepness and height induce me to suppose that it has been solid, like many of the temples of Buddha in Ava and Nepaul; for a hollow temple, of which the roof had fallen in, would be much flatter. My conjecture is confirmed by the vicinity of the several places which are said to have belonged to the Pal family who was worshippers of Buddha."

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The Indian Historical Records Commission.

AN ACCOUNT OF ITS ACTIVITIES, 1919-1922.

IN 1919 the Government of India decided, in conformity with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Public Records of England and Wales, to make the official records in India more accessible to students of history, and to remove so far as possible all obstacles to research. It was felt that the Government of India "should have at their disposal a permanent body of expert advisers, whose opinion would carry weight with the Record Officers and the public. With such a body at hand for advice they were convinced that the methods adopted would meet the real wants of genuine historical students." They accordingly constituted, in their Resolution, No. 77 (General), dated the 21st March 1919, "the Indian Historical Records Commission," consisting of:—

(1). The Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education and Health, *ex-officio* President.
(2). The Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, *ex-officio* Secretary.
(3). The Curator, Madras Record Office, *ex-officio*, Member.
(4). The Keeper of Records, Bengal, *ex-officio*, Member.
(5). Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M. A. ,Member.
(6). The Ven'ble Archdeacon W. K. Firminger, M.A., Member.
(7). Professar L. F. Rushbrook Williams, M. A., Member.
(8). Mr. B. K. Thakore, B. A., Member.

The *ex-officio* Members are permanent Members of the Commission; the rest are to hold office for a period of five years. The Commission is a purely consultative body. Its duties have been thus defined in the Resolution quoted above: "It would make inquiries and recommendations regarding; (1) the treatment of archives for the purposes of historical study in all Provinces of India and in such Indian States as might seek their advice; (2) the scale and plan on which the cataloguing, calendaring and reprinting of each class of documents should be undertaken; (3) the sums required for encouraging research and publication in respect-of unpublished documents; (4) the extent to which and the manner in which documents should be open to inspection by the public; and (5) the training of Indian students from the

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Universities in methods of historical research and the selection of competent editors and assistants for the publication of documents."

The original idea was to restrict the meetings of the Commission to members only. But at the very first conference the members decided that in future their meetings should partake of a public character, at which lectures and papers on historical subjects should be read and discussed in order to popularise the work of the Commission. By holding their sittings at different University Centres the Commission have given prominence to the vast records of Government which lie scattered in different parts of India and offer such rich fields for exploration by students of Indian history, economy and sociology. They have also suggested useful methods for the preservation of these records and for making their contents accessible to students. An interesting feature of the Commission has been the exhibition of historical documents and paintings, held at Lahore and Delhi in connection with its sittings.

THE FIRST SESSION:

SIMLA, 1919.

The first session of the Commission was held at Simla on the 19th and 20th June 1919, and, as stated above, was confined to members only. The Commission suggested that as a beginning the three States of Baroda, Gwalior and Indore should be invited to send representatives each year with a view to making the historical records of Indian States available to research students. Representatives from some of these States have since attended the meetings of the Commission as co-opted members every year. The Commission also suggested the compilation of a Handbook to Records by each local Government and the submission of an annual report by them to the Government of India for the information of the Commisssion. Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces have already issued their Handbooks. Annual reports are regularly submitted by the Governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa and the Chief Commissioner of Coorg. Besides these resolutions the Commission considered Archdeacon Firminger's Memorandum dated 3rd June 1919, regarding the publication *in extenso* of certain records of the Bengal Government which were in a bad state of decay, and a letter from Professor Thakore to Mr. K. S. Dixit, dated 7th June 1919, on the question of the publication of a Source-book on Maratha History.

THE SECOND SESSION:

LAHORE, 1920.

The second session of the Commission was held at the Senate Hall, Lahore, on the 8th and 9th June 1920. The public meeting on the first day was opened by Sir Edward Maclagan, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab,

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and the meeting was presided over by the Hon'ble Sir Henry Sharp. An exhibition of historical manuscripts, pictures, etc., from the Indian States and private individuals in the Punjab was arranged in connection with this meeting under the supervision of Mr. H. L. O. Garrett of the Punjab Historical Society. Some of the more interesting papers read at this meeting may be briefly noticed here :—

1. *The Missing Links in the History of Mughal India from 1658 to 1761*, by Professor Jadunath Sarkar. Professor Sarkar did not base his paper merely on the Court chronicles, but went to the primary sources, such as—

(i) Epistles, viz., despatches addressed to the Emperor or correspondence between officers.

(ii) Revenue returns and other statistical information.

(iii) Court bulletins.

The Professor thought that the missing materials could be discovered only by the combined search of many men at many places, including an examination of the archives of the Rajput States.

2. *Two recently discovered Letters, one from the Shah of Persia to Aurangzeb and the other, the latter's reply*, by Maulvi Zafar Hasan, Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi. Professor Sarkar doubted the genuineness of the letters referred to by Maulvi Zafar Hasan. He was of opinion that the first letter was more probably written by Shah Abbas, II of Persia than by his successor, Shah Sulaiman. He also doubted whether the second letter was ever delivered to the Persian King, as the carrier of such a message was sure to forfeit his life.

3. *Manuscript of the Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, by Chaudhuri Abdul Hamid, Professor, Government College, Lahore. Professor Sarkar held that it was neither an eye witness's report nor a summary of state papers and therefore could not claim to be considered as a primary authority. He considered it to be inferior to other contemporary histories, such as the *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkhirin* and the *Ibratnumah*.

At the members' meeting held that year the question as to whether the General Letters to and from the Court of Directors should be printed *in extenso* or calendared came under consideration. The Commission recommended that the General Letters from July 1757 should be calendared first, the letters prior to that date being calendared subsequently. Although the recommendation in favour of calendaring was accepted by the Government of India, the question arose as to whether calendaring should not begin from 1749, the date of the earliest volume in the possession of the Imperial Record Department. At their fourth session the Commission, in modification of their previous recommendations, agreed to these being calendared from

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1749. This was finally accepted by the Government of India. The calendaring of these letters was started in April 1922. In the case of the Madras Government the Commission, on the recommendation of Mr. Dodwell, decided that the Madras General Letters from 1702 to 1739 should be printed instead of being calendared. In addition to the matters described above, the Commission considered a letter addressed to the Secretary to the Commission, pointing out the desirability of translating into English the Maratha historical records published by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis in the *Itihasa Sangraha,* a journal dealing with old papers relating to Maratha history. The Commission did not consider them to be of sufficient historical or economic importance to merit translation.

THE THIRD SESSION:

BOMBAY, 1921.

The third session was held in the Cowasjee Jehangir Hall, Bombay, on the 4th and 5th January 1921. The meeting was to have been opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay but owing to his unavoidable absence, his speech was read by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay. The following are some of the important papers read at this meeting:—

1. *Delhi during the Anarchy, 1749-1788, as told in contemporary records,* by Professor Jadunath Sarkar. In his paper Professor Sarkar, after enumerating the various published books which deal with the History of Delhi during the period, referred to an unique copy of a Persian manuscript, which he said, may be styled the *Delhi Chronicle during the Anarchy.* This manuscript was found by him among the papers of an old aristocratic family of Patna. Regarding the manuscript itself he remarked: "Here we have an absolutely contemporary chronicle of the events and rumours of Delhi, written down immediately afterwards by an inhabitant of the city, without any embellishment, garbling or artificial arrangement of a later date."

2. *Sher Shah,* by Professor Rushbrook Williams. Professor Rushbrook Williams had discovered "an entirely new contemporary authority, which promised to throw light upon the many vexed questions with which the career of Sher Shah still abounded. This manuscript, which bore the title of Tawarik-i-Daulat-i-Sher Shahi, was the work of one Hasan Ali Khan, an intimate companion of Sher Shah from boyhood to the grave."

3. *Bengal and Bihar District Records, 1760-1790; their Historical Value and Methods of Preservation,* by the Ven'ble Archdeacon Firminger. A very interesting and informative paper on the subject.

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4. *Life in an English Factory in India in the Seventeenth Century by* Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, Principal, Karnatak College, Dharwar. The following extracts from Mr Rawlinson's paper may prove of interest :—

"The first Englishman to land in Surat was William Hawkins in 1608. But a regular factory was not established until the time of Sir Thomas Roe (1615-18) owing chiefly to the opposition stirred up by the Portuguese.

The first and most interesting fact to notice about the factory was that it was conducted more like a College, Monastery, or a House under Religious Orders than any other, as a contemporary writer puts it. This was characteristic of the age in general.

The staff of the factory consisted of the President, his Council (which included the Accomptant, the Warehouse Keeper, the Secretary and certain senior factors), the chaplain, the surgeon, the junior factors, and the writers or apprentices. The office of President was one of great dignity and importance, for the President controlled all the English factories in western India and Persia and also Bantam for a considerable time.

The President received a salary of £500 per annum and a writer began his career on £10 per annuam. In spite of their low salaries, they all flourished and amassed wealth, being allowed the privilege of private trade.

The day opened with prayers. After prayers the business of the day began. At noon, the offices were closed and the factors repaired to the dining-hall for the chief repast of the day. Work started again at four. At six the factory was cleared of outsiders and the gates were closed. Prayers were read again, after which supper was served. The programme for Sundays and holidays was different. Discipline in the factory was maintained by the President who was held in great respect by every one in the factory.

Late in the seventeenth century, the monastic rules governing the factories were relaxed and the factors were allowed, like the Dutch, to bring out their wives. President Blackman, 1652-5, was the first to enjoy this privilege. Later on we hear of batches of young women coming out every year to seek husbands in Bombay.

Taken as whole, the life in a Factory in the East was both dangerous and wearisome. Between the departure of one annual 'fleet' and the arrival of the next, the factors were entirely cut off from the outer world. The mortality especially in a place like Bombay was very high. This was partly due no doubt to the excessive indulgence of the factors in meat and alcoholic liquor"

In the discussion on the paper that followed Prof. Rushbrook Williams pointed out that partiality for drink was a well-known feature of factory life. In Calcutta the allowance for sherry in the days of the Company was three bottles per man per day and one and a half bottles per lady.

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Archdeacon Firminger said that the paper had confirmed him in his belief in the great importance of the preparation of lists of European burial grounds and inscriptions on tombs. Some of the tombs in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were very interesting.

At the members' meeting the most important resolution related to the publication of a series of monographs on subjects connected with Indian history on the lines of the Indian Records Series and the Indian Text series. The Commission recommended that Mr Dodwell's monograph on the old Coast Army should form the first volume of the series. The proposal was accepted by the Government of India. The book has since been issued under the title of "Sepoy Recruitment in the Old Madras Army." The Commission passed a resolution recommending the grant of a subsidy of Rs. 600 to the *Itihash Mandal* of Poona to examine the Marathi records in Goa territory and to obtain copies of important documents as also to compile a note on the extent and value of the Persian Records. The Commission recommended the grant to Father Hosten of his travelling expenses on the condition that he should submit a paper on the result of his examination of the Madras and Mylapore archives to the Indian Historical Records Commission at their next meeting. This grant was sanctioned by the Government of India.

THE FOURTH SESSION:

DELHI, 1922.

The fourth session was held in the Hall of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, on the 6th January 1922 under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi, member of the Governor General's Council for the Department of Education and Health. An exhibition of historical paintings and manuscripts was held in connection with the meeting under the supervision of Mr Ashfaq Ali, Gallery Assistant, Delhi Museum (1).

Of the important papers read at this meeting the following may be mentioned:—

1. *Aurangzib's siege of Satara (as described in contemporary records)*, by Professor Jadunath Sarkar.

In reconstructing the story of the siege, Professor Sarkar gathered much information from a curious volume of Aurangzib's personal anecdotes and sayings composed by Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur (surnamed Nimcha-i-Alamgiri), which he discovered edited, annotated, and translated into English. In his opinion "the siege of Satara is of peculiar importance to

(1) Four Volumes of the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Commission have been published by the Government Press at Calcutta and may be obtained at the following prices:—Vol. 1, Simla, 1919, Annas four; Vol 2, Lahore, 1920, Re. 1-2; Vol. 3, Bombay, 1921, Re. 1; Vol. 4, Delhi, 1922, Re. 1-13.

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the student of Mughal history. First, because it is typical of the many sieges of Deccan hill forts in which Aurangzib wore out the last ten years of his life and ruined his army and treasury. A detailed study of it will make it unnecessary for the historical student to study the other sieges, as the methods of the besiegers and the besieged and the progress of events were very nearly the same in all of them. Secondly, this siege affords a striking illustration of the real inefficiency of the Mughal army even when an exceptionally gifted and energetic master and veteran general like Aurangzib was personally directing its operations. As we read the fresh, ungarbled, plain records day by day, we realize the utter incapacity of the Mughal artillery department, its failure to carry any strong place by breach and assault or to reduce it by bombardment".

2. *The responsibility of the Emperor Jahangir for the death of Sher Afgan, the first husband of Nur Jahan Begum*, by Professor Beni Prasad of the Allahabad University.

Professor Beni Prasad's paper aimed at repudiating the common notion that Prince Selim, afterwards Emperor Jahangir, had murdered Sher Afgan, the first husband of Nur Jahan, in order to marry the widow.

3. *The Jats and the importance of their history*, by Prof. K. R. Qanungo of Ramjas College, Delhi.

In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper Prof. Sarkar observed that Prof. Qanungo's theory of the origin of the name of Delhi from the Dhillon tribe of the Jats should not be hastily brushed aside, as the name of the city is spelt Dhilli and not Delhi or Dilhi, in a 14th century inscription of a Pathan Sultan.

4. *The Buildings of the Tughlags*, by Sir (then Mr.) Henry Sharp. A very well informed paper.

5. *The Madras Weavers under the Company*, by Mr. H. Dodwell. The author gave a brief history of the Indian Cotton Industry—a subject which has not yet been properly investigated.

At the members' meeting held on the 7th January the Commission received the report of Father Hosten on his visit to Mylapore, Madras and other places in connection with the preparation of a history of Jesuit Missions in Bengal. As regards the preparation of a hand-list of the Peshwa's Daftar they suggested to the Bombay Government the desirability of consulting experts in Maratha history like Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis and Mr. G. S Sardesai as to the best method of dealing with these records. The Commission pointed out to the Government of India the desirability of requesting Indian States to furnish information as to the nature, date and extent of the old historical materials (prior to 1850) in their respective archives, and of enquiring whether they needed any expert help for the

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purpose of shifting, preserving and publishing the same. The resolution was forwarded by the Government of India to the Indore and Baroda Darbars for necessary action.

There is not the least doubt that the retirement in 1922 of the Ven'ble Archdeacon Firminger and Mr. H. Dodwell, Curator of the Madras Record Office, both of whom took an absorbing interest in the activities of the Commission, has left a void which is hard to fill. But the Commission has undoubtedly been enriched by the appointment in their stead of scholars of the calibre of the Hon'ble Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C. I. E., of Calcutta, and Mr. Julian Cotton, I. C. S., of Madras.

In a climate like that of India where the processes of decay are so fast and widespread, and in a country where there is little of genuine interest in the preservation and study of historical records, the value of the work of a body like the Indian Historical Records Commission is all the more enhanced, not only because it brings out priceless records from the dusty vaults of bye gone days, but also because it seeks to make them permanent for the future. Labours such as these will be profoundly appreciated by the researchers of the present day and gratefully remembered by those who come after us.

The fifth session has been fixed to take place in Calcutta in January, 1923.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

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Our Library Table.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AS MERCHANTS: PRESS LIST OF THE CONTROLLING COMMITTEE OF COMMERCE 1771-1773 AND OF THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1774 1776: (BENGAL SECRETARIAT BOOK DEPOT.)

UNDER instructions from the Court of Directors, the Council at Fort William established a Committee of Commerce for the inspection, control and regulation of the commercial affairs of the Company. The Committee consisted of four members who were directed "to inspect that every chiefship procures the investment assigned;" they were instructed "to pay particular attention to the branch of silk, encouraging its extension and properly supporting those we have sent abroad for this great purpose," and told to be "watchful to prevent foreigners and others from breaking in too much upon our export commerce." In 1774 a larger body called the Board of Trade took over this duty; reconstituted in 1786 it continued to manage the Company's mercantile business and trading operations in Bengal till they came to an end in 1835. The transactions of these bodies are preserved in the Bengal Historical Record Room and the earliest have been summarised in these two volumes. We have here the correspondence with the Residents or Chiefs of the various Factories, Patna, Dacca, Chittagong, Malda, Kasimbazar and others, much of it relating to the cotton cloth industry and silk manufacture. Students of the trade and commerce of Bengal and its economic history will find in these volumes considerable material for study. A full index is attached to each.

BENGAL DISTRICT RECORDS: RANGPUR—VOLS. II, III & IV. 1779-1785: (BENGAL SECRETARIAT BOOK DEPOT.)

In 1914, the first volume of the earliest records of the Rangpur district was published under the editorship of Archdeacon Firminger. The series is continued in the three Volumes under notice which have been published in the last few years by the Bengal Historical Record Room. They contain the correspondence of the Collector of Rangpur for the period 1779 to 1785, reproduced as far as possible in *facsimile* letters received and letters issued being printed separately in chronological order.

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CATALOGUE OF THE ENGLISH RECORDS, 1758 TO 1858, PRESERVED IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD ROOM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL; (BENGAL SECRETARIAT BOOK DEPOT: 1922: RS. 3-12-0.)

The archives of the Bengal Historical Record Room, classified and arranged under the various departments and authorities which existed from time to time, are briefly described in this volume, which shows historical students the wealth of material awaiting their investigations. It guides the enquirer to the history of the revenue and judicial administration from the time the affairs of the Bengal Presidency devolved on the British, and to the commercial and trading transactions of the East India Company. Among many records too numerous to be mentioned here, may be noted transactions of the Tea Committee from 1834 when Government made enquiries regarding the introduction of tea cultivation, and the proceedings of the Committee of Public Instruction from 1823 to 1842.

A HANDBOOK OF THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT RECORDS: BY A. F. KINDERSLEY OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE (GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS, BOMBAY, 1921, RE. 1-1-0).

In his foreword to this excellent publication, Mr. P. J. Mead, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, rightly observes that the historical sense can only be developed by the study of historical evidence at first hand: and it is gratifying to receive his assurance that the Government of the Western Presidency is prepared, like our own Government at Fort William in Bengal, to facilitate to the fullest degree researches in their records for public purposes. Mr. Kindersley's work will enable the investigator to embark upon his task with an admirable idea of the bulk, nature and general arrang ment of the records which are in the custody of the Secretariat at Bombay Castle. There is still much valuable material to be examined: and we await in particular with the utmost interest the result of the enquiries now being made into the contents of the Peshwa's Duftar at Poona, which represents a mine of information. Mr. Kindersley modestly calls his book a skeleton account: it is in reality much more than that. We commend it most cordially to the attention of students.

SELECTIONS FROM THE HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE HEREDITARY MINISTER OF BARODA: COLLECTED BY RAI BAHADUR B. A. GUPTE. (CALCUTTA: PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY, 1922.)

The fifty-four original Marathi documents which are here translated by Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte, the late Curator of the Victoria Memorial Hall, were obtained by him from the family of Raoji Appaji whose descendants are Hereditary Ministers of Baroda. Nine of them throw a sidelight on the

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transactions of the Hon'ble East India Company's officers (including Jonathan Duncan, Col. Alexander Walker and Mountstuart Elphinstone) with the Maratha states, eighteen supply glimpses of the administration of Baroda, six discuss Poona politics in the last days of the Peshwas, thirteen afford a picture of the shadowry rule of the Rajahs of Satara, and eight are contemporary chronicles records by Hindi scribes in the service of the Dewan. We can trace in them the source of Grant Duff's History and learn something of the intrigues carried on at Poona by Nana Farnavis and his colleagues. The historical value of the collection is great: and the illustrations admirable. These comprise Aurangzebe, Babaji Appaji Dewan (the conqueror of Kathiawar) Baji Rao the Second (last of the Peshwas) the great Chhatrapati Sivaji himself, and Mahadaji Scindia the conqueror of Delhi.

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The Editor's Note Book.

A LIMITED number of copies are available of the late Mr. Wilmot Corfield's "Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days," and may be obtained at the price of two rupees a copy upon application at The President's Room, Bengal Legislative Council, Town Hall, Calcutta.

"Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days."

THE numerous illustrations include reproductions of the following:—

1. "Fort William in Bengall" in 1730: from the well-known engraving by Vandergucht.
2. St. Anne's Church (which stood at the Clive Street end of Writers' Buildings) and Tombs in the old burying-ground (St. John's Churchyard) at Calcutta; 1756: from Maps in the British Museum.
3. Twelve Views of Calcutta by Thomas Daniell (1786-88).
4. Six Views of Calcutta in 1792: from the Second Series of "Oriental Scenery" by Thomas and William Daniell.
5. "The Old Fort Ghaut, Calcutta" and "Calcutta from the Garden Reach:" from "A Picturesque Voyage to India by way of China" by Thomas Daniell, R. A., and William Daniell, A. R. A. (London, 1810).
6. The Old Court House, Calcutta: by Colonel Francis Swain Ward [From "Twenty-four Views in Hindoostan" published in London in 1805: but drawn in 1784).
7. St. John's Church, Calcutta, by William Baillie (1794).
8. Calcutta: by Henry Salt: from Lord Valentia's "Voyages and Travels in India, 1802-1806," published in 1809.
9. The Esplanade and Government House: from a painting by W. Allom (1803).
10. St. Andrew's Church: from J. B. Fraser's "Twenty-four Views of Calcutta" (1824).
11. Four Views of Calcutta: from Sir Charles D'Oyly's sketches (1830).
12. Esplanade Row and the Ochterlony Monument: from the "Panoramic View" of Calcutta by William Wood Junior, (1833).
13. Zoffany's "Last Supper" in St. John's Church.

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14. Portraits of Clive, Admiral Watson, Holwell, Charles Weston, Dupleix, Warren Hastings, Seraj-ud-dowlah, Meer Jaffier and Meerun, Colonel and Lady Anne Monson, John Evans (the first "Chaplain in the Bay,") General Claud Martin, Sir Elijah Impey, Madam Grand, Mrs. Eliza Fay, Sir William Jones, Lord Wellesley, Lord Cornwallis, the Duke of Wellington, the first Lord Minto, the Marquess of Hastings, Sir David Ochterlony, and Lord Amherst.
15. Plans of Old Chandernagore and Moorshedabad.

HER Excellency the Countess of Lytton has been pleased to accept a copy of the publication, and has expressed her appreciation of the admirable conspectus of Old Calcutta which it offers. Many of the illustrations are reproduced from prints and engravings which are exceedingly difficult to procure.

Deniell's Twelve Views of Calcutta, 1786-88.

THE following is a list of the "Twelve Views of Calcutta" which were brought out by Thomas Daniell in 1786-88, very shortly after his arrival in India. They are said to be the earliest street views of Calcutta: and were commended for their accuracy by William Hodges, R. A., who was in Calcutta at the time :—

1. The Old Fort and Western side of Tank Square, with the Holwell Monument: looking North towards Clive Street.
2. The Mayor's Court [Old Court House] and Writers' Buildings.
3. The Great Tank: looking East towards the Mission Church.
4. Chitpore Road.
5. The Supreme Court [New Court House] and Chandpaul Ghaut.
6. Old Fort William: river side view, with the Fort Ghaut.
7. Part of Cheringhee.
8. Calcutta from the River Hoogly.
9. Old Court House Street: looking South.
10. The Council House and the Esplanade.
11. Old Government House.
12. St. John's Church.

THE Imperial Library possesses ten of these views bound in a volume: and eight of them, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 12, hang in the entrance lobby of the Bengal Club. The entire set of twelve views, which are worth at least £100, was obtained for the Victoria Memorial Hall by Lord Curzon. It is believed that this is the only complete example in Calcutta.

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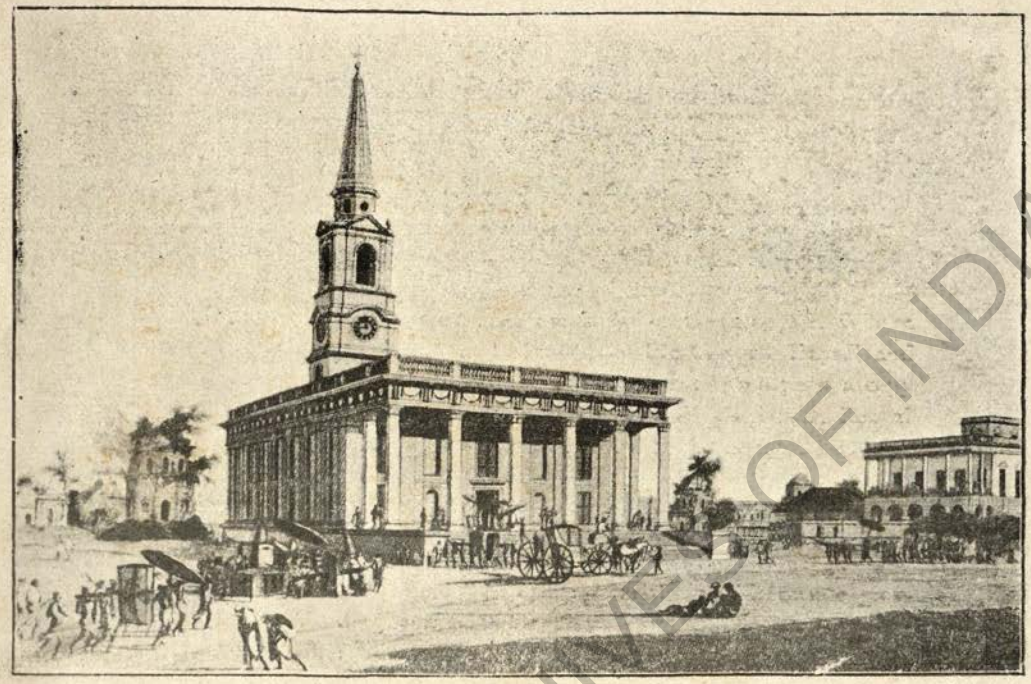
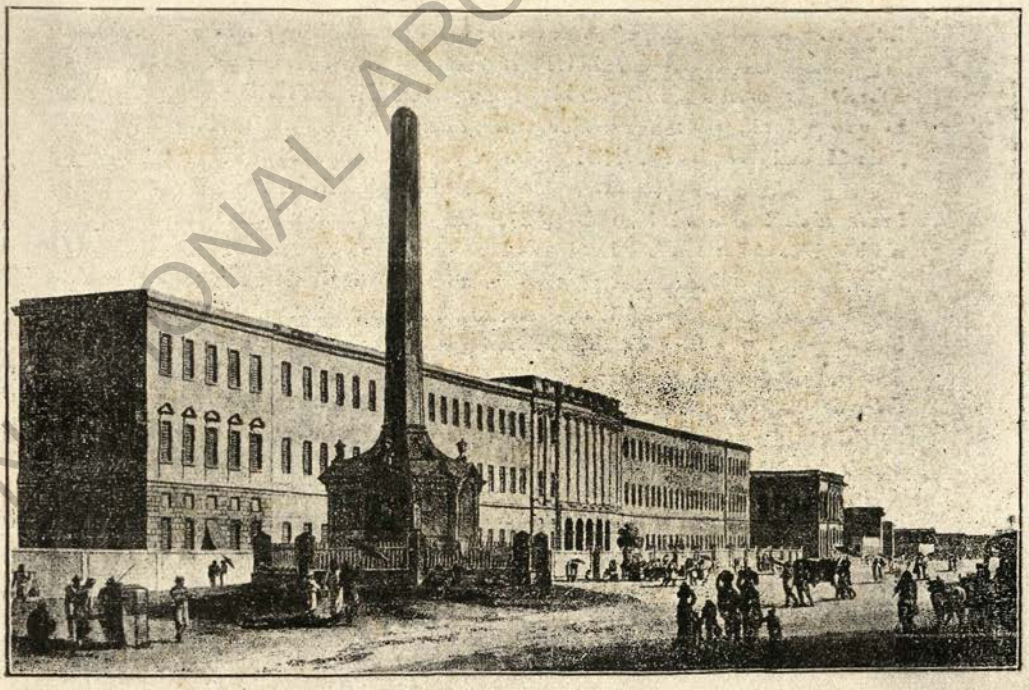


ST. JOHN'S CHURCH—1788.
(From Daniell's "Twelve Views of Calcutta.")



WRITERS' BUILDINGS AND THE HOLWELL MONUMENT—1792.
(From Daniell's "Oriental Scenery.")

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THE six views of Calcutta in the Second Series of "Oriental Scenery" were drawn by Daniell in 1792. The subjects are as follows, the date given in each case being that of publication :—

1. View taken on the Esplanade (August, 1797)
2. View in the Chitpore Road (August, 1797).
3. The Council House (February, 1798).
4. The Writers' Buildings (February, 1798).
5. Govinda Ram Mitter's Pagoda in the Chitpore Road (August, 1798).
6. Part of Cheringhee (August, 1798).

AN example of each of the series—St. John's Church from the earlier, and Writer's Buildings (with the Monument) from the later—is reproduced upon the opposite page.

Unidentified prints by Daniell.

THE India Office Library has lately come into possession of a set of nine large coloured aquatints by Thomas Daniell (engraved surface about 2 feet by 1½). They represent cave temples in Western India and are said to have been executed from drawings by Thomas Wales. The date of publication is given in each case as July 1, 1803. There can be no doubt as to their authenticity, but it has been impossible so far to locate them in any of Daniell's published works. They are not to be found in the six volumes of "Oriental Scenery" or in "India Antiquities" or in "Hindoo Excavations at Ellora." It was thought that they might find a place in the "Twenty-four views of Hindoostan by Mr. Edward Orme from Sketches by Mr. [Thomas] Daniell and Colonel [Francis Swain] Ward," published in London in January 1805. But a search through that volume has been equally unsuccessful. It may be that the plates were prepared but never issued: but there is no evidence to support such a theory. In case any member of the Society may be able to identify these aquatints, a list of the subjects is appended; (1) Kondooty (? Kondivte); (2) Pandoo's Cave, Nasik; (3) Jugasree (? Jagesvari); (4) Obelisks near Mundipishwar; (5) Ekvera, entrance to Karli cave; general view; (6) The same, side view; (7) The same, near view; (8) Interior of Karli cave; (9) A rather larger plate giving plans of Ekvera, Jugasree, and Pandoo's cave.

A supposed Romney in Calcutta.

ENQUIRIES were made in Calcutta in the closing days of November, 1922, regarding a picture entitled. "The Death of General Wolfe' by George Romney, which (it was said) "hangs in the Council Chamber at Calcutta," and permission was asked to take a photographic copy. It was not possible

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to grant the request, for the simple reason that no such picture exists in Calcutta. But the opportunity was seized to ascertain, if possible, from Mr. William Foster, C. I. E., the Keeper of the Records at the India Office, whether he could throw any light upon the subject. Mr. Foster has, with his usual goodness, replied, and his letter is as follows:—

> In May, 1921, Mr. W. R. Gourlay wrote from Darjiling to say that the Government of Canada were asking about a painting by Romney of "the Death of General Wolfe," which was alleged to have been hung by Governor Verelst in the Council Chamber at Calcutta. I consulted Mr. W. Roberts, who (with Mr. Humphry Ward) wrote the standard book on Romney, but he could give no help. The story is to be found in Fitzgerald Molloy's "Sir Joshua and his Circle" (Vol. II, p. 468), and Roberts and Ward have repeated it, adding that "the picture is presumably no longer at Calcutta, as an enquiry in Notes and Queries (1897, Vol. II, p. 127) failed to elicit any information." Mr. Roberts could only suggest that possibly the painting had been destroyed by the climate. My own theory is that Verelst took it home with him or gave it to some friend in India. I got into touch with a present day Verelst, but he knew nothing about the matter. Major Stephenson, who was then working at the India Office, was interested in the story, because it was an ancestor of his, Rowland Stephenson, who is alleged to have bought the picture and given it to Verelst: but he could not help.

Henry Verelst.

A NUMBER of new facts in connexion with the Indian career of Henry Verelst were printed in Vol. V. of *Bengal: Past & Present*, (p. 351). He arrived in Bengal on July 16, 1749. There is no authority for the statement made in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and repeated in Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, that he was taken prisoner during the "Troubles" of 1756-57 and released after Plassey. On the contrary it stands recorded that—

> Of the factory at Jugdea: Mr. Peter Amyatt, Chief: Messrs. Playdell, Verelst, Smyth, Hay, and Ensign Mure, with about 20 military. They also quitted the factory after the capture of Calcutta, by order of the Governor and Council.

From 1760 to 1765 he was Chief of Chittagong, with Randolph Marriott and Thomas Rumbold "of Council." In 1765 he was Supervisor of Burdwan and Midnapore; and in January 1767 succeeded Clive as Governor and President at Fort William. He held the office until December 1769, when he made over charge to John Cartier, the friend of "Sylhet" Thackeray.

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On his return to England Verelst became involved in litigation arising out of action he had taken in Bengal against certain servants of the Company, and was cast in heavy damages. He died at Boulogne on October 24, 1785. In 1772 he published his *View of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal.*

Benjamin West's Indian Pictures.

THE best known painting of the "Death of General Wolfe" is by Benjamin West, P. R. A. It shared the honours of the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1772 with Zoffany's "Members of the Royal Academy of Arts," which is now at Buckingham Palace. [See "Nollekens and his Times" by J. T. Smith, Vol. II, p. 67, Whitten's edition.] The picture was the first in which a modern battle was represented in modern costume instead of that of the Greeks and Romans: and the innovation was so warmly resented that Sir Joshua Reynolds himself called to protest. West also painted "The Treaty between Lord Cornwallis and Tippoo Sahib" and "Shah Alum (the Great Mogul) conveying the Grant of the Dewanny to Lord Clive, August, 1765." The last named picture was presented to the East India Company in 1820 by the first Earl of Powis, and now hangs in the Finance Committee room at the India Office. There is a replica in the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection.

"Clive and the Nawab Nazim" by Benjamin Wilson.

IT would be interesting to learn of the present whereabouts of another painting on a similar subject. In the Fountaine sale, which took place in 1783, a canvas representing "Lord Clive Putting Meir Jaffrier's eldest son on the Throne" realized £84. The artist was Benjamin Wilson (1721-1788), who succeeded Hogarth in 1761 as Serjeant Painter and who produced portraits of the King and Queen in 1776. Later in life he became a Fellow of the Royal Society and gained a reputation as an engineer and electrician.

Zoffany's first Master.

ZOFFANY assisted Benjamin Wilson for a time in the painting of draperies for his portraits which were very popular in their generation. There is an entry in the Farington Diary regarding this episode in Zoffany's career :—

> *December 6, 1804.*—[Benjamin] West related that when Zoffany first came to England he was employed to paint for Benjamin Wilson and had only 40*l* a year: and lodged in an apartment near Tottenham Court Road. He had engaged for a certain time with B. Wilson, but his abilities having become known to the public at the first exhibition in the Strand, Garrick, after some quarrelling with Wilson on the subject, *bought out his time*, and enabled him to proceed on his own account.

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The Plowdens and Bengal.

ELSEWHERE we record the gratifying intelligence that Lady Lytton has accepted the office of Patron of the Society. Nothing could be more appropriate. As early as 1781 we find the following entry in the marriage register of St. John's Church: "July 14. Mr. Henry Plowden, Factor in Ye. Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Eugenia Brooke." It was no doubt, his sister Harriet who married as his first wife Edward Wheler, Member of Council, and died within seven months of her arrival in India. Thereafter, an examination of Prinsep's "General Register of the Hon'ble East India Company's Civil Servants on the Bengal Establishment from 1790 to 1842," will reveal the names of no less than eight more Plowdens. Her Excellency's great grandfather, Trevor John Chicheley Plowden, served from 1801 to 1836. He was Sheriff of Calcutta in 1827 and died on board the *Hibernia*, on his way to England, on July 7, 1836. The marble tablet erected to his memory in St. John's Church records that he was Salt Agent of the Twenty-Four Pergunnahs at the time of of his death. He was followed by a son and a grandson of the same name. The son was a member of the Bengal Civil Service from 1827 to 1860, and began his career (which was chiefly passed in Upper India) as Assistant to the Collector of Dacca. The grandson, Her Excellency's father, served from 1868 to 1900 and after filling the office of Resident at Hyderabad for nine years, attained to the dignity of a K. C. S. I., and died in London in November 1905. Of other Plowdens in the Bengal Civil Service, Richard Chicheley Plowden (1799—1825) died on September 21, 1825, at the Cape of Good Hope. George Augustus Chicheley Plowden died in Calcutta on November 16, 1804, at the age of 18, seven months after his arrival in India, and lies buried in North Park Street cemetery. William Augustus Chicheley Plowden (1811-1817) died on August 2, 1817, at Noacolly. Richard Chicheley Plowden (the second) arrived in India on March 30, 1825 and died two years later. Augustus Udny Chicheley Plowden (1826-1852) was stationed at Burdwan and Hooghly during his early service and died on April 30, 1852, at Bulandshahr where he was Magistrate. George Augustus Chicheley Plowden (the second) served from 1829 to 1842 and was Magistrate and Collector of Sylhet. His wife died at Singapore on July 31, 1838, at the age of twenty-two, and is buried there. Other names could be mentioned but these may suffice. The succession is being worthily carried on by Mr. P. C. Plowden, I. C. S., in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

From One Generation to Another.

THERE are still a few other families, left in India which illustrate the saying of Kipling that generation after generation finds its way to India, as dolphins follow in line across the open sea. Mr. W. L. Travers, M. L. C., of Baradighi Tea Estate, in the Jalpaiguri district, represents the sixth

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generation of his family, which began its connection with India in Bombay about 1780. The Cotton family, now in its fifth generation, supplies another example. From the time of Captain Joseph Cotton (1745-1825) who entered the marine service of the Company in 1769 as fourth officer of the *Deptford* (499 tons) and after commanding the *Royal Charlotte* (758 tons) from 1776 to 1782, was a Director of the Company from 1795 to 1823, the succession in the service of Company and Crown has been unbroken. No doubt, there are other instances, and the editor will be glad to hear of them.

The Rent of Belvedere.

HOUSE HOLDERS in Alipore will be interested to learn that when Belvedere was occupied in 1822 by Sir Edward Paget (as related by him in the "Letters" from which extracts are published on an earlier page) the monthly rent demanded of him was Sicca Rs. 450 a month. (See *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, IV. 435). Later on, when the property was acquired in 1854 by the East India Company as an official residence for the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, Lord Dalhousie defeated a proposal to charge a monthly rent of Rs. 500.

Mr. Speaker as Governor-General.

SOME comment was excited by the appointment of Lord Reading to the Viceroyalty, by reason of the fact that he was holding the office at the time of Lord Chief Justice of England. But the following extract from *The Time* of October 4, 1822, will show that an even more startling departure from precedent was in contemplation a hundred years ago :—

> The peculiarity of the report that the Governor-Generalship has been offered to Mr. Manners Sutton seems to give it credibility: for who would have thought of making a Speaker of the House of Commons the Chief Governor of India, but the authors and contrivers of the change? We have heard, further that when the proposition of going out to India was made to Mr. Speaker, a fortnight was allowed him to consider of his reply: and this circumstance, if true, will account for the uncertainty which now prevails respecting the appointment. The time allowed is *in transitu*, and nothing can be decided on till the Speaker's answer is received.

Mr. Speaker's reply, when given, was, as we know, in the negative: and the appointment of Governor-General of India, in succession to the Marquess of Hastings, went to Lord Amherst with whose name will always be associated the inauguration in 1826 of Simla as the summer capital of the Central Government.

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The Canning Jewel.

VISCOUNT LASCELLES, the husband of Princess Mary, is, it would appear, the present possessor of the Canning Jewel, a large gemmed and enamelled pendant in the shape of a triton, or merman, which is supposed to have been a present from a prince of the Florentine House of Medici to one of the Mogul Emperors. It was purchased at Delhi by Earl Canning when Governor-General, and on his death in 1862 was acquired by his brother-in-law, the first Marquess of Clanricarde. The second Marquess, to whom it passed in 1874, bequeathed it in 1917 to his great-nephew and heir, Lord Lascelles. The ornament is of gold, exquisitely enamelled and set with rubies and diamonds. The body is formed of a single baroque, or misshapen pearl, in the form of a human trunk. The head and the arms are of white enamel, and the tail, in which the body ends, is of yellow, green and blue enamel. The figure is braudishing a scimitar, or jawbone, in one hand. In the other is a shield in the shape of a gorgon mask. The face is fashioned of turquoise blue, and is surmounted by two white horns and encircled by green enamelled snakes. In the open mouth is a ruby, and round about are diamonds. Beneath the jewel are suspended three large pearls. An illustration of this masterpiece of the great Italian craftsmen of the *cinquecento* was given in *The Times* of February 27, 1922, from which these details are taken.

A Link with John Palmer.

THE death took place, in May, 1922, of a grand-daughter of John Palmer, the "Prince of Merchants," whose bust by Chantrey stands in the Calcutta Town Hall. Of Palmer's three daughters, one married William Tayler, (Bengal Civil Service 1829-1859) whose removal by Sir Frederick Halliday from the Commissionership of the Patna Division, supplies one of the most discussed controversies to which the Sepoy Mutiny gave rise. Another daughter married Sir Charles Parry Hobhouse, Bart. (Bengal Civil Service, 1844-1871) who died in 1916 at the great age of ninety. The eldest daughter, Anna Catherine Bassett Palmer (1801-1885) became the wife, on April 4, 1825, of Robert Castle Jenkins, a merchant in Calcutta, who had exchanged a military for a business career and retired from India in 1837. Their eldest son, Robert Palmer Jenkins (1826-1899) served in the Bengal Civil Service from 1846 to 1873, and was well-known in Behar as Commissioner of Patna. He had one sister who married the Rev. Frederic Savile Lumley, and it is her death at the age of 95 which we are chronicling.

The "Prince of Merchants."

JOHN PALMER was the second son of Lieut.-General William Palmer, the private secretary and confidential adviser of Warren Hastings, who subsequently became Resident in turn at the Courts of Poona, Hyderabad, and Delhi, and died in

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1814 while a General on the staff at Berhampore. The son who was born on October 8, 1797, served for a time in the Navy and was a midshipman with Sir Edward Hughes' squadron during its engagements off the Coromandel coast with the fleet of the Bailli Suffren. After the Peace of Paris in 1783 he came to Calcutta and entered the firm of Burgh Barber and Company. On the death of Mr. Barber he became under his will a partner in the firm and also the owner of a palatial house in Lall Bazar, which forms the subject of one of J. B. Fraser's views of Calcutta (published in 1824). Later on Palmer entered into partnership with Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, afterwards (from 1826 to 1851) a Director of the East India Company, and Chairman of the Court in 1843. The Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General from 1813 to 1823, was a close friend of Palmer and always alluded to him as the Prince of Merchants. Time was, indeed when his name stood good for a crore of rupees in the market.

The Crisis of 1830.

In 1830, however, the great house failed in the most disastrous fashion, and Calcutta Society was shaken to its foundations. Public confidence in John Palmer remained unshaken, notwithstanding, and many leading Indian gentlemen came forward with offers of substantial assistance. Palmer survived the crash for six years which he spent in re-establishing his business. He died on January 22, 1836, and was followed to the grave by a more numerous company than had ever previously attended any funeral in Calcutta. The short tablet, "John Palmer the Friend of the Poor," which marks his grave in the North Park Street burial-ground and the laudatory inscription upon his bust in the Town Hall, bear eloquent testimony to the generous impulses of his character and the universal estimation in which he was held.

A Gainsborough Portrait of Sir Thomas Rumbold.

The "Times" of August 3, 1922, contained the interesting announcement that a portrait by Gainsborough of Sir Thomas Rumbold (1736-1791) and his eldest son William Richard (1760-1786) is in the possession of Mr. Rumbold of Godminster Manor, Bruton, Somerset. Young Rumbold was a Captain in the first Foot Guards and acted as Aide-de-Camp to Sir Hector Munro in the operations which ended in the capitulation of Pondicherry in October 1778. He carried home the despatches and the colours of the fortress for presentation to the King, and was subsequently M. P. for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis. His death took place in June, 1786, as the result of a fall when riding in his father's park at Woodhall, Walton, Hertfordshire. The age of the boy in the group shows that the picture was painted in the early seventies of the eighteenth century, while Gains-

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borough was at Bath, and before Sir Thomas Rumbold was appointed in 1778 to be Governor of Madras.

RUMBOLD was alleged by his enemies to have begun life as a boots at Arthur's, the fashionable gaming house in London, or alternatively as a tide waiter at the London Docks. Both assertions are false: for as a matter of fact he was the youngest son of William Rumbold, of the Company's service and second at Tellicherry, who in his turn was the son of another William Rumbold also of the Company's service; and his uncle Henry was Secretary to the Council at Fort William and died in Bengal in 1743. He entered the Company's service in 1752 as a writer at Fort St. George and after serving with Stringer Lawrence in the operations round Trichinopoly in 1754, he accompanied Clive to Bengal in 1756 and received a Captain's commssion for his gallantry at the siege of Calcutta. He was Clive's Aide-de-Camp at Plassey and was severely wounded: after which he reverted to civil employment and in 1760 was third at Chittagong. Subsequently he became Chief at Patna, and from 1766 to 1769 was "of Council" at Fort William. He had now made his fortune and returned to England, where in 1770 he took his seat in the House of Commons as Member for New Shoreham. Eight years later, as we have seen, he succeeded Pigot as Governor of Madras: and in 1779 both he and Hector Munro received baronetcies in commemoration of the fall of Pondicherry. Upon his final return to England in 1780, he was dismissed the service by the Directors on the ground that he was responsible for Hyder Ali's invasion of the Carnatic: and an enquiry was ordered by Parliament into various charges of corruption and oppression which were ultimately defeated. He became M. P. for Yarmouth in 1781 and succeeded his son William in the representation of Weymouth in 1784, holding the seat until 1790. He died on November 11, 1791, and the Baronetcy passed to his second son, George Berriman Rumbold, who was seized by order of Napoleon when Minister Resident at Hamburg in 1804 and conveyed as a prisoner to the Temple in Paris. In 1807 he died at Memel.

BOTH William and George were the children of Rumbold's first wife, Frances Berriman, whom he married at Madras on June 22, 1756, and who died in childbed at Calcutta on August 22, 1764 at the age of 26. The tombstone once stood in St. John's Church-yard but it has long since disappeared. Rumbold's second wife was a daughter of Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, and he left his estates to his children by her. Rumbold, his eldest son William, and the second wife all sat to Romney in London in 1777: and these portraits are still in the possession of the family. A second portrait of Lady Rumbold by Romney was painted between March and May, 1772, but was stolen.

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"Tipping him a Rumbold."

AN unkind story of William Rumbold is told in the "Memoirs of William Hickey," (Vol. II, 1775-1782, p. 195). On his way home from Calcutta in the *Nassau* (723 tons) in April 1779, Hickey landed at Madras and "found the inhabitants of the settlement exceedingly gay, chiefly owing to the cheerful example given by the Governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold and his Lady." He was invited to dinner at Government House and there met Captain Rumbold who was on the eve of sailing for England with the official account of the taking of Pondichery. The young man, says Hickey, was rather disrespectfully spoken of from being thought deficient in personal bravery :—

> The nature of his station made it requisite for him during the siege frequently to carry orders from Sir Hector Munro to the officers on the duty in the trenches, a duty the Captain from his mode of performing it, was considered as not liking. It soon became a general remark that, upon the sound of a shot whizzing by he bobbed his head, to the great entertainment of the private soldiers, amongst whom it at last became a by word, upon seeing a comrade flinch or in any way shy, to say, "He tipped him a Rumbold."

The Three Nabobs.

IN "The Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman long Resident in India," George Francis Grand gives us a glimpse of Sir Thomas Rumbold at Bath. Grand resigned his military commission on the Bengal establishment in March 1773 and embarked on board the *Marquis of Rockingham* (499 tons, Capt. Alexander Hamilton) for England. He arrived in the Downs on September 13, 1773, and after a couple of months in London, proceeded to Bath :—

> In my way I stopped to pay my respects to my old Commander-in-Chief, General Richard Smith, where I found a Triumvirate of East Indian Nabobs, *viz.*, himself, the late Sir Francis Sykes, and Sir Thomas Rumbold, all of them scheming where they could carry the weight of their purse, with certain effect, to triumph against old established families, in getting returned as Members of Parliament."

Compare with this the extract from the *Calcutta Gazette* of August 16, 1784, which is printed in Seton-Karr's Selections (I, 204) :—

> We are sorry to find that many private letters mention the great disrespect in which East Indians are held in England so much so that they are driven to associate almost entirely with each other.

SAMUEL FOOTE'S comedy of the *Nabob* affords sufficient corroboration of the current unpopularity of the class. The three cronies found their way into Parliament, as they desired, but each had his own experience. Richard

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Smith's was the most unpleasant. The General stood for "the corrupt borough of Hendon" (Grand, p. 28) and was elected. But "the members destined by the Treasury for representatives of the Borough" impeached the validity of the election which was declared void. Several actions for bribery having been instituted, Smith was in addition sentenced by the House of Commons to a fine and imprisonment for six months. Francis Sykes, who had bought the Basildon estate in Hampshire, close to Chilton Lodge which was the property of the General, "contented himself with a Cornish Borough." He had gone out to Bengal in 1751 at the age of 19 and was attached to the factory at Cossimbazar in 1756 when he was taken to Moorshedabad with William Watts and escaped with him before Plassey was fought. Resigning the Service in 1760 he took home with him the infant son of Warren Hastings by his first wife. This was George who died in 1764 while under the care of the parents of Jane Austen. Sykes returned to Bengal with Clive in 1765 and became Chief of Cossimbazar. His wife Catherine Ridley, whom he married on February 7, 1766, is buried in the South Park Street Cemetery. He was created a baronet in 1781 and died in 1784 at the age of 72.

RUMBOLD'S "contested election to that Parliament for Shrewsbury," says Grand, "entailed a heavy expense on him". As a matter of fact, he was twice elected, and twice unseated. Like General Richard Smith he indulged in much ostentation. "His figure" we are told by Grand, "and splendid living excelled every other family of the season at Bath." When he went up to London to press his claim to the Governorship of Madras, Grand was an eye-witness of his progress. "Sir Thomas's family in a coach and six drawn by his set of horses; Miss Rumbold and the French Governante in one of his postchaises and four beautiful bays, besides the steward and butler out of livery on horseback, and full half a dozen servants handsomely mounted in rich liveries."

A Contest for a Governorship.

THIS was the occasion of the great struggle between Rumbold and George Pigot, who had already been Governor of Fort Saint George from 1755 to 1763, and had retired with a fortune of forty lakhs and purchased an Irish peerage. Rumbold, by the exercise of ministerial influence and lavish gifts, actually obtained the nomination: but Lord Pigot appealed from the Directors to the General Court of Proprietors, and won the day on a ballot by a majority of four votes. He went out with the determination to reinstate the Raja of Tanjore, fell foul of his Council over the question, was deposed by them and died in confinement on May 20, 1777. The chance then came to Rumbold, and he took over charge on February 8, 1778.

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Grand's "Narrative".

GRAND, it may be mentioned, subsequently received a writership "on the list of 1776," and embarked in December, 1775, on the *Greenwich* (676 tons, Captain Robert Carr) bound for "the Coast and Bay." His Narrative is full of many such intimate pictures of contemporary Anglo-Indians. A reprint, with notes by Archdeacon Firminger, has been published by the Calcutta Historical Society: and copies, which are priced at Rs. 3 each, may be obtained upon application at The President's Room, Bengal Legislative Council, Town Hall, Calcutta.

The Stables Family by Romney.

RUMBOLD was, of course, not the only Anglo-Indian nabob who employed a fashionable artist to paint a family portrait. John Stables, Member of Council at Fort William from November, 1782 to January, 1787, gave Romney a commission for a group of his wife and daughters, and paid him fifty guineas for it. The picture, which subsequently passed into the possession of Baron Alphonse deRothschild, was engraved, and a first stage of the mezzotint was sold for 540 guineas at Christie's in the Grundy sale on December 16, 1913! Of Stables in Calcutta we catch the following glimpse in the Note-books of Mr. Justice Hyde, selections from which were published in *Bengal Past & Present* in 1909 (Vol. III, p. 45]:

> *1785, February 1, Tuesday, 7* A.M.—The Governor-General goes on board his boat from the Powder Mills [some eight miles below the city] at four o'clock in the afternoon this day. Before Mr. Hastings went from the town of Fort William, he resigned to John Macpherson, Esq., and John Stables, Esq. (as I heard) in Council the key of the new Fort, and to John Macpherson the key of the Company's Treasury; but Mr. Hastings did not at that time resign entirely his office of Governor-General: but, as it is said, intended to send from the ship [the "Berrington," 755 tons, Capt. John Johnston], when the ship was got as far as the pilot attended the ship, a resignation by deed or writing.

STABLES had served in the Company's army from 1759 to 1769 and his career was of a distinguished character. In 1760 he defeated the Rajah of Kurruckpore and commanded a battalion at the battle of Buxar. He was Town Major of Fort William in 1765, and being then a captain, was dismissed the service by Clive in 1767 for signing a "round robin" of remonstrance against the abolition of "double batta." The Court of Directors sent him out in 1782 to take the place of Philip Francis in Council and he was appointed because he was believed to be entirely devoted to Hastings. But in October 1783, we find Hastings writing to Lawrence Sulivan that "Stables .... opposes me with a rancour so uncommon that it extends even to his own

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friends, if my wishes chance to precede his own in any proposal to serve them. In Council he sits sulky and silent." Later on Sulivan expresses regret for having sent "snakes into Mr. Hastings' bosom".

Another Romney Portrait.

COLONEL H. D. Love has reproduced in his "Vestiges of Old Madras" (Vol. III. p. 320) a portrait painted by Romney in 1790 of Sir Archibald Campbell, K. B. who was Governor of Madras from 1785 to 1789 and died in England in 1791. He is buried in Westminster Abbey. At an earlier stage in his career he was Chief Engineer in Bengal, "a situation of prodigious emolument," according to William Hickey (Memoirs, Vol. II p. 151), who adds that he was associated with Colonel Henry Watson in the project for erecting docks at "Raderpore, about three miles and a half from Calcutta." His interest in the undertaking ceased in the beginning of 1777, when he was bought out by Watson.

The Barabulla Sands.

A CORRESPONDENT writes: The note on "The Barrabulla" at p. 198 of the last issue of *Bengal: Past & Present*, (Vol. XXIII) has put me in mind of the tomb-stone in South Park Street Cemetery which records the fact that one Robert Gardener "was unfortunately wrecked in the Ship Ganges on the Barabullor Sand in the River Ganges" on May 23, 1787, in the 47th year of his age. (See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 74).

"Bole Ponjis."

WE print on an earlier page some selections from "Bole Ponjis," Henry Meredith Parker's well known book of poems and other writings. The copy we possess is in two volumes and bears the inscription: "To William Carr: With the best and most affectionate regards and friendly remembrances of H. M. Parker: 1st November 1851." It was with Carr and William Prinsep as partners that Dwarkanath Tagore founded the firm of Carr Tagore and Co. in 1834.

Parker gives the following whimsical account of the origin of the name "Bole Ponjis."

> An old writer, one of the early voyagers to India, says that he arrived at a place called Sootanooty, (now Calcutta) where certain of our countrymen, servants of the Merchant Adventurers trading to the East Indies, managed a small factory; and "There," he proceeds to state—I quote from memory, for I am ashamed to say that I could never in all my life keep a common place book—"There I did get huge contentment and delight; and more specially from a certain delectable liquor which was called "Bole Ponjis," a drink prepared and wondrously affected by the Moors, and the secret of which the worthy gentlemen of the Factory had won, being the

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best thing they could win, from the heathens aforesaid. Now it was surely a drink most curious and delicate, being made in this wise; that is to say, with two portions of the spirit called Rak or Arakky, and one portion of fair water, and one portion of the juice of the sugarcane, and one portion of the juice of a little fruit, called in that country of Bengalla, by the Portingals and Moors, limboo, or lime. Now truly this compound of five, in the Moors' language, "Paunch," pleasant proportions, did procure for our company, at the Factory of Sootanooty aforesaid, mirth and jollity and great entertainment; and I did mind to bear with me to England the secret of this excellent "Bole Ponjis;" being, methought, as good and savoury as the tobacco carried by Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, from the Virginias; or as the tea, which hath now in our days been brought from Cathay."

"The Roads of Balasore."

TO the poems chosen by Dr. Dunn, we add another. What the arrival in the Roads of Balasore meant in those days to the traveller outward bound may be gathered from these verses of Parker :—

We have let the anchor go,
It has sunk twelve fathoms deep,
Where the green sea-weeds do grow,
And the crimson sea-shells sweep:
And while swinging to the tide,
We can hear the breakers roar,
With a sad and sullen sound,
In the Roads of Balasore.

The moon is riding high,
The dull stars gleaming dim,
And is this a tropic sky,
Where so pale they seem to swim?
Yes, it is a tropic sky,
And far off a tropic shore
Where the surf rolls on the land,
In the Roads of Balasore.

Unruffled by a breeze,
Is the ocean's heavy swell,
And are these the tropic seas
Of which we have heard tell?
The azure, tropic waves?
Yes, I hear your breakers roar
On the wild and lonely beach.
In the Roads of Balasore.

At home a happy hour
Is this sweet twilight time,
When the dew is on the flower
And the summer in its prime,—
And many think of us
Whom we shall see no more,
Though we sadly think of them
In the Roads of Balasore.

"Rest after Toyle."

"REST after toyle doth greatly please." The following inscription may be read on a tomb stone in the quiet village church yard of Begbroke, in Oxfordshire :—

John Bristow, son of Abraham and Jane Bristow, born in this village, who after making twelve voyages to the East Indies, lived for

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twelve years at Diamond Harbour near Calcutta. He died at Woodstock, May 14, 1838, at the age of 70, and was buried here at his own request.

The Wreck of the "Grosvenor."

AN attempt is being made to salve the treasure on board the *Grosvenor* East Indiaman, which was wrecked on August 4, 1782, some twenty-five miles from Lusikisiki on the coast of Pondoland. Proof has recently been forthcoming that a considerable quantity of diamonds were on board, to the value of 24, 444 Star Pagodas. Engineers are at work driving a tunnel through 450 feet of solid rock to the narrow gully, in which the vessel is lying as though in a cradle. The Table Mountain sandstone through which the tunnel is being drilled has been found to be hard and impervious to percolation from the sea above: but difficulties are still anticipated as the *Grosvenor* is imbedded in many feet of sand.

THE *Grosvenor* (729 tons) called at Madras in April, 1782, on her way home from Calcutta. She was under the command of Captain John Coxon, and several prominent members of the Bengal Society of the day were on board. Mr. William Hosea, Chief at Moorshedabad, and his wife were taking home the little six year son of Sir Robert Chambers. Another passenger was Charles Newman, the barrister who appeared for the plaintiff in the case of Grand *v.* Francis in 1779, and who was towards the end of 1781 sent to Madras to collect evidence against Sir Thomas Rumbold. In addition, the Captain and Alexander Logie, the first officer, were accompanied by the wives they had married in Calcutta. Mrs. Coxon was a Miss Harriet Sherburne, and the date of their wedding was August 1, 1778. Mrs. Logie was a Miss Lydia Blechynden, and she had only been married since December 8, 1781. In all 135 persons, European and Indian, including several children, landed on the African Coast, five hundred miles from the nearest Dutch settlement, which was at the Cape. The passengers remained with the captain's party, and were never again heard of. Three men and a cabin-boy from the other party eventually reached London: and their evidence was taken by order of the Court of Directors and published in 1783. A reprint of the report will be found in *Bengal: Past & Present,* Vol. II, at p. 325: and a further instalment in Vol. III at p. 111. An interesting note by Dr. Busteed in Vol. II at p. 419 should also be consulted.

Mott's Lane.

IT is a matter for deep regret that the Corporation of Calcutta should have thought fit to divide Mott's Lane (which is a turning off Wellesley Street) and to christen part of it Indian Mirror Street. Great are the historical associations which cluster

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around the name of this old street. Thomas Motte, who was married at St. John's Church on January 5, 1777, to Miss Mary Touchet, was a free merchant. In 1766 (says Dr. Busteed in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*) he undertook a journey to the diamond mines in Sambalpur by direction of Clive and wrote an account of it. In the year 1762 he was at Moorshedabad where his men in the month of May had a free fight with those of Stanlake Batson (See *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. V, p. 147). In 1769 he was still at Berhampore, and George Francis Grand, who made his acquaintance there, describes him as "a man whose philanthropy, thorough acquaintance with India, diversity of historical anecdote, general knowledge and information, joined to a chearful and sociable disposition, with the finest hospitality, rendered him one of the most pleasing companions within my experience." In 1770 he is mentioned in the letters of Dr. Tysoe Saul Hancock as trading in diamonds at Benares: and moved thence to Hooghly, where Warren Hastings and his wife used to visit Mrs. Motte, who was a bosom friend of Mrs. Hastings. For some time Motte held a police appointment and lived in Calcutta in the street which still partly perpetuates his name. About that time he appears to have fallen into financial difficulties, for in 1781 an advertisement was inserted in the newspaper calling a meeting of his creditors. Among the Impey MSS. in the British Museum there is a petition from Motte, written from the Calcutta Jail in 1783, in which he begs that his creditors will assent to his release on the score of humanity. As a Police Magistrate Motte seems to have employed original methods for he had a band known as "Motte's conjurers." It was at his house at Hooghly that Grand was married to Miss Noel Verlée, the ceremony having previously been performed by a "popish priest" at Chandernagore. "Bibby Motte" left India with Mrs. Hastings on the *Atlas* (758 tons) in January, 1784, but subsequently returned. She had a separate income in the shape of the rent of Mr. Justice Hyde's house, which occupied the site of the Town Hall. The last mention of Motte in the Hastings correspondence is in a letter from General William Palmer in 1802, in which it is said that "poor Motte is well and chearful, but breaking, and his faculties a little impaired." [S. C. Grier, Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife, p. 435.] He died at Serampore on January 29, 1804, at the age of 74.

"Impey Row."

HAVING denounced the change of one street name, it is natural that we should advocate the change of another. The confusion between Middleton Street and Middleton Row has not been eased by the lapse of time: and the opportunity is ripe for the alteration of the title of the latter into "Impey Row." The proposal has everything to recommend it. The unusual formation of Middleton Row

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is reminiscent of the fact that Sir Elijah once lived in the house now known as the Loretto Convent. It stood in a large park and the principal entrance to it was from Park Street through Middleton Row which was then an avenue of almond trees as the vernacular name of Badamtollah indicates. In earlier days, as the tablet upon the wall at the entrance to the convent testifies, the building was the country house of Henry Vansittart, Governor of Fort William from 1760 to 1764: and after Impey it was occupied for a few months in 1824 by Bishop Heber. Behind it stretched in olden days the Company's kitchen garden.

Indian Street-names in Calcutta.

THE criticism is unjust which seeks to assert that only Anglo-Indian worthies are commemorated in the designations of Calcutta Streets. A glance at the northern quarter will disclose an array of historic Bengali names of which the following are samples taken at random: Rajah Rajbullub, the famous naib of Dacca whose relations with the English served as a pretext for Seraj-ud-daula's descent upon Calcutta in 1756: Nundoram Sen, the "black deputy" or "general supervisor" who assisted Ralph Sheldon in his duties upon his appointment as first Collector of Calcutta in 1700: Rajah Gooroo Das, the son of Nuncomar: Boloram Ghose, Dewan to Dupleix in the palmy days of Chandernagore, and Baranosee (Benarsey) Ghose who was Dewan to Francis Gladwin, the Persian scholar, when Collector of Calcutta in 1788: Bonomali Sircar and Huzooree Mull, prominent inhabitants of Calcutta in the days when Holwell ruled as zemindar. Add to these the Tagore family and the Sobhabazar house which traces its descent from Maharajah Nubkissen: and it will be seen that Calcutta has not failed to do justice to her notable Indian citizens of the past.

A Changing City.

THE writer of these notes may be forgiven if he pauses for a while to dwell upon the changed aspect of Calcutta as it strikes him after an absence of sixteen years. Hastings Street and Mission Row and Dhurrumtollah remain much the same: but in many other directions the builder of mammoth mansions has been busy. Clive Street is altered beyond all recognition. Chowringhee may still claim to be the "village of palaces," which Lord Valentia declared it to be in 1802, but the "range of excellent houses chunamed and ornamented with verandahs" has been supplanted by massive blocks of commercial buildings which extend the whole way to Park Street and brighten the evening scene with a blaze of light from their spacious plate glass windows. Beyond the

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Cathedral, a magnificent wide thoroughfare has taken the place of the narrow and unattractive Bhowanipore Road of former days: and when the great Central Avenue—that monument of the ceaseless activity of the Improvement Trust—emerges from its present *cul-de-sac* at Bowbazar and joins up with Chowringhee, the old pilgrim track from the north to Kalighat will have been transformed into one of the most wonderful roadways in the world. Harington Street and Middleton Street have on the whole escaped "modernization:" but Theatre Road and Camac Street have mercifully been shorn of their *bustees*. Alipore and Ballygunge have grown into populous suburbs: and the talk is of going yet further afield.

The Disappearing Past.

MANY a memento of the past has necessarily disappeared. The last trace of the Mahratta Ditch has vanished, as we may learn from an article elsewhere. Macaulay's bungalow will be looked for in vain in the splendid Bengal Club House. The snow-white marble fabric of the Victoria Memorial Hall dominates the Maidan like a second Taj, and the hideous Presidency Jail has been blotted out. Scott Thomson's Corner at the junction of Esplanade East and Old Court House Street has been replaced by a lofty pile of mansions. It was here that a Government House once stood: and tradition had it that the initials of Warren Hastings were to be seen scratched on a pane of glass in one of the windows. Cossaitollah, (the butcher's quarter) which we prefer to call Bentinck Street, is as yet intact with its numerous lanes which perpetuate the names of Charles Grant and Weston and Prinsep and Meredith the first livery stable keeper in Calcutta. But the hand of the Improvement Trust has been laid upon it: and before long it will be little more than a memory. Let us remember, before it is too late, that the house in this street associated for several generations with the firm of Llewellyn and Co. is asserted to have been used as a Government House in the time of the first Earl of Minto, Governor-General from 1807 to 1813. The arches and pillars of the throne room, Council-chamber, and reception room were still standing as originally built, when the writer last saw the building in 1905. The change here will probably be as great as it has been in Park Street, where the old house which shelters the Asiatic Society of Bengal stands like a solitary clearing in a forest of sky scraper flats. The ramshackle ticca gharry has almost ceased to be a distinguishing feature of the Calcutta streets. It has given way to the motor car and will soon follow the adjutant bird and the palankeen into oblivion. Gone also are the bhistees with their mussucks, and the Red Road is watered now-a-days by the prosaic watercart. Very soon scarcely a vestige will be left of the Calcutta of twenty years ago.

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Calcutta in 1872.

AND what of the Calcutta of 1872—exactly fifty years ago? There is not much that is recognizeable to-day in the picture drawn by Sir Henry Cotton in his "Indian and Home Memories":—

> All the beauty and fashion of Calcutta were to be found after the evening drive listening to the strains of the Town Band in the Eden Gardens. Madame Bodelio, in Dalhousie Square, was the fashionable modiste . . . . Wenham Lake ice was procurable on terms which, under the agreement between Government and the Ice Company, could not be raised above three pence for two pounds, and I remember how acutely we used to suffer when the ice supply failed as it occasionally did, from delay in the arrival of a ship, or other cause. There was no tramway system, and it was not until tram lines were laid down some five or six years later that palanquins received their quietus. Bad as the ticca-gharry or cab supply may be now, it was infinitely worse then, and the spectacle of miserable ponies falling down dead in the shafts was not uncommon. The Maidan was still full of jackals, which made night hideous with their howlings. I remember the killing of a jackal on the ground floor of the Bengal Secretariat in Sudder Street. I never saw a snake in Calcutta, though I once found the sloughed skin of a cobra in my study. Jackals and adjutant birds were the nocturnal scavengers of the city. The adjutant bird was to be seen all day long during the winter months perched on one leg on the heads of the stone lions on the top of the gateway to Government House, or on roofs or pinnacles, or one of the many statues.

Madame Bodelio's "Emporium of Fashion" was at No. 4, Dalhousie Square in the house which has been occupied for so many years by Messrs. Newman & Co., and is now (December, 1922) under sentence of demolition.

"Bhagiruth, and "Bhagiruthi."

AN Indian friend, who has read the article on "George Beechey and His Indian Wife" in proof, calls attention to an error on page 49, which was detected too late for correction. The expression "Bhagiruth, the incarnation of the Ganges" is (he says) incorrect. "The story goes that Bhagiruth, a prince of the solar race, persuaded the goddess Ganga to come down from heaven to give salvation by her sacred touch to the sixty thousand sons of King Sagara, who were turned to ashes by the vengeance of the sage Kapila. Ganga is hence known as Bhagiruthi, but in no sense can Bhagiruth be said to be an incarnation of that goddess." What is represented upon "Hindoo" Stuart's tomb is, no doubt, Ganga as Bhagiruthi.

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